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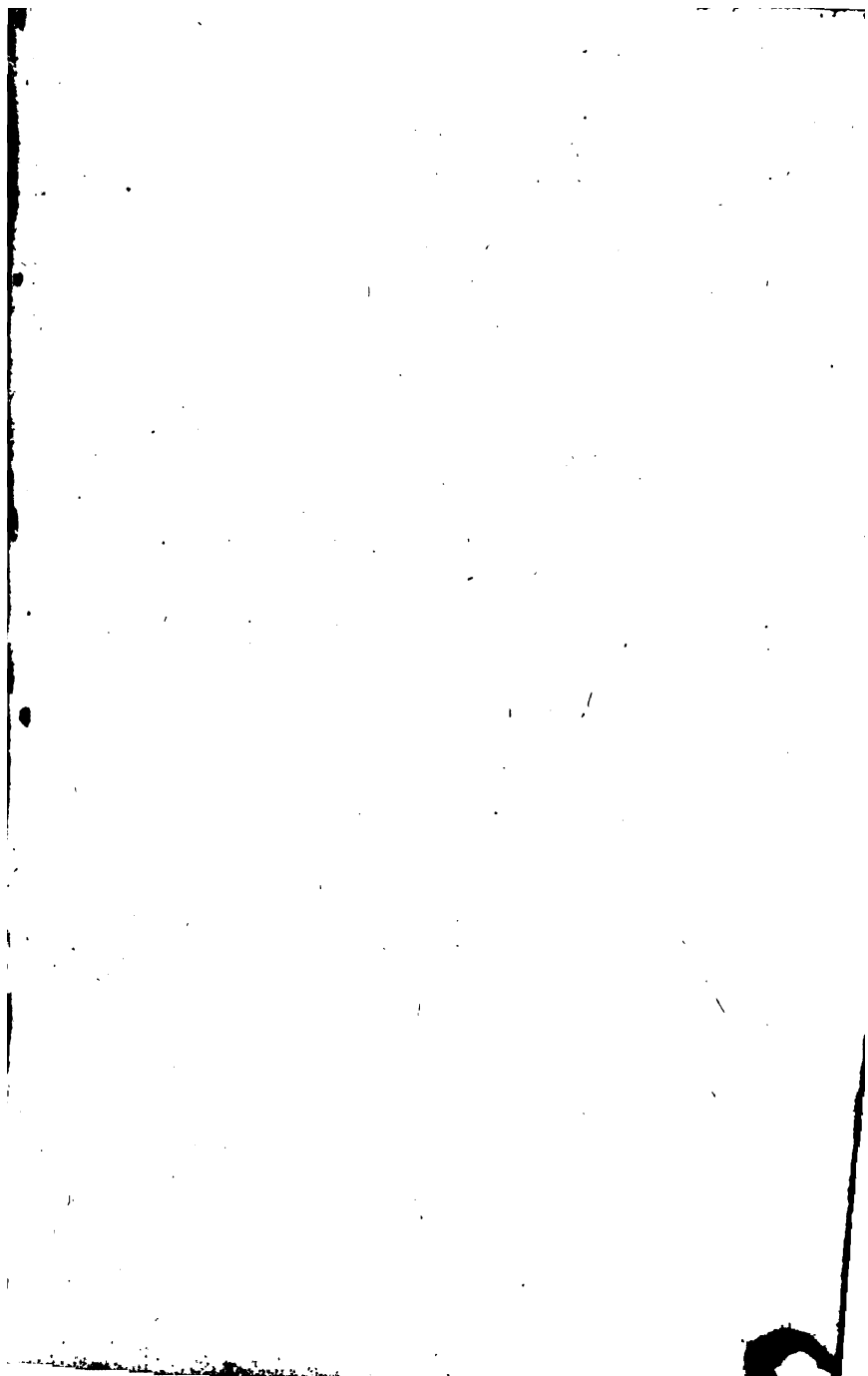


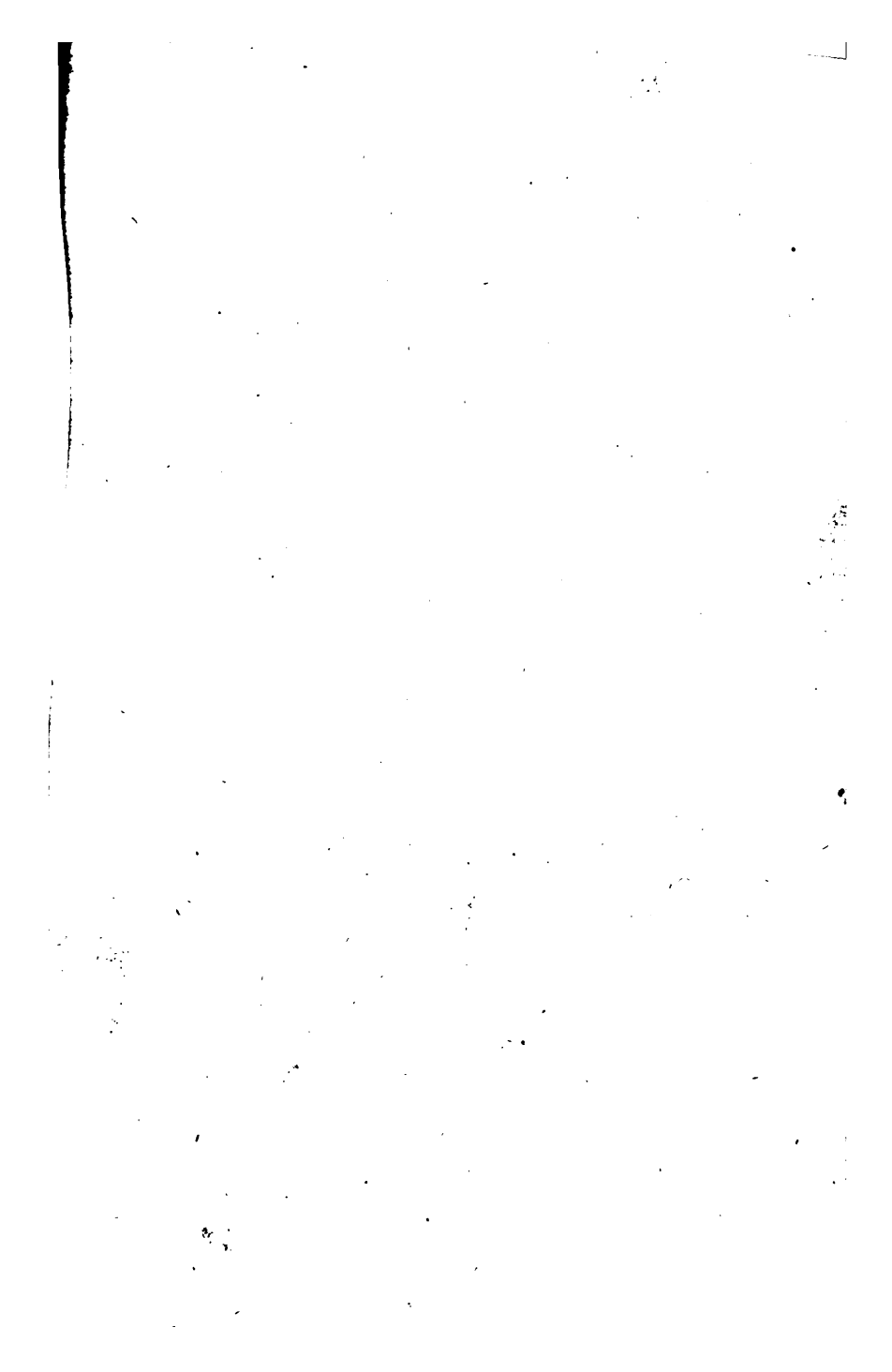
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1697









SELECT LETTERS

TAKEN FROM

Fog's Weekly Journal.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

V O L. I.

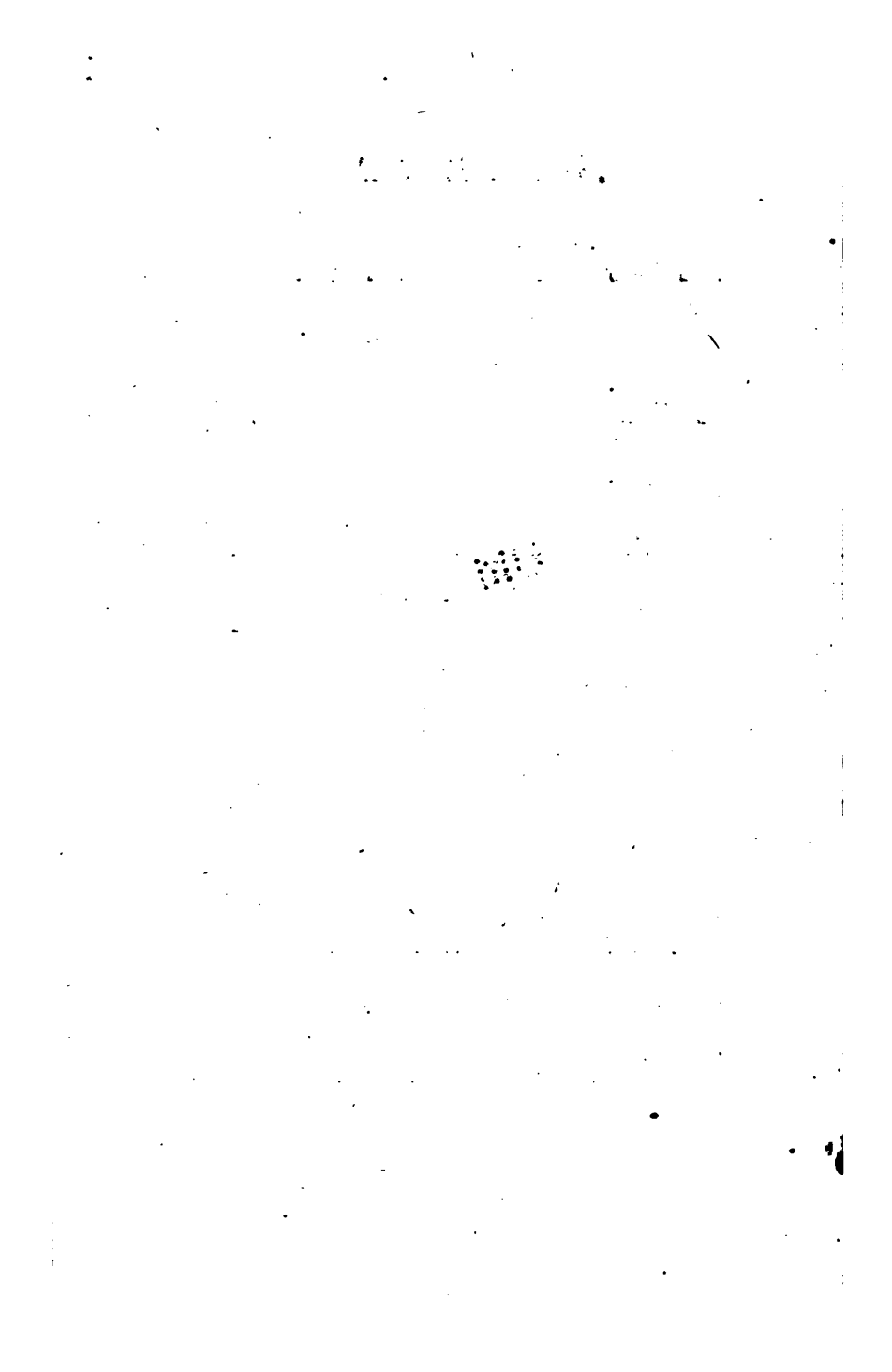
*Aude aliquod brevibus Gyaris & Carcere dignum
St vis esse aliquis — PROBITAS laudatur & alget.
Criminibus debent Hortes, Pratoria, Mensas,
Argentum vetus, & Stantem extra Pocula Caprum.*

JUV. SAT.



L O N D O N :

Printed; and Sold by the Booksellers of LONDON
and WESTMINSTER. 1732



English
Barbours
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TO THE
Greatest BLUNDERER
in *Christendom.*

May it please Your Excellency,



WHEN an Author addresses some obscure Person who never signaliz'd himself in the Great World, he is oblig'd to give his Name, his Country, and, perhaps, descend even to set down the Street where he lives, and all little enough to let his Readers understand whom he means; but when he offers his Incense to some Great Man, like Yourself, whose Actions have fill'd the Mouth of Fame, all these Circumstances are not only unnecessary, but trifling. — If, for Example, I should dedicate these Papers to the *Greatest Captain of the Age*, without other Title or Distinction, the whole World would know that I meant Prince Eugene: In like Manner, when I dedi-

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MUP

Reclass.

cate to the *Greatest Blunderer*, all Mankind will agree that I can mean Nobody but Your Excellence.

Thus I chuse to salute You by the Title given to You by the People, for sure there is something more glorious in the Honour conferr'd by them, than in those conferr'd even by Princes. — Princes sometimes bestow Titles according to Humour or Caprice, nay, often to take a Sum out of the Pocket of a Fool in order to put it into the Pocket of a Favourite; but all those Dignities and Appellations which come from the People, must be purchased by the Merit of Publick Actions: Thus *Manlius* came to be saluted by the Sirname of *Capitolinus*, and *Scipio* by that of *Africanus*; like them, You earn'd Your Title before it was conferr'd upon You; the People, ever niggard of their Honours, kept it long back, till, by a Series of the same *wise* Conduct, You had, in a Manner, forced it from them.

And now, methinks, a most copious Subject for Panegyrick presents itself before me, and sure a Dedication cannot make its Appearance with any Decency in the World, without something of *Encomium*; however, I count myself happy in one Thing, that, when I praise You, I shall not be afraid of offending Your Modesty; and therefore I have been searching History for some very shining Character to which to compare You, and if my Comparison should not be altogether equal, it cannot, however, lessen You, to be shewn greater than another, so that I have made Choice of Cardinal *Richlieu*, I may say, only to be your Epil.

Doubtless

D E D I C A T I O N. v

Doubtless there is something in your Life and Character very like, as well as something very unlike those of this Great Man; but where You differ, the Advantage will appear infinitely on Your Side. — The Historians of *France* highly extol this Minister for the Change he wrought in the foreign and domestick Affairs of his Country, and in their vain-glorious Way of expressing themselves, make Use of this *Hyperbole*, That he alter'd the Condition of more than twenty Millions of People. — I will venture to assert, that You have brought about as great a Change in the foreign and domestick Affairs of Your Country; and, without the least *Hyperbole*, we may maintain, that You have alter'd the Condition of Your Millions as well as he. — So far there is a Resemblance; but in what follows, You differ — His Schemes often brought the Lives of his Fellow Subjects into Danger; but Yours have tended to preserve the Lives of Yours — He encourag'd, nay, tempted the adventurous unwary Merchant (by throwing that alluring Bait call'd Gain before him) to hazard Rocks and Tempests, and range about the Globe; but You have cured that dangerous Itch in Numbers of Your Countrymen, and many a tall Vessel that was wont to be the Sport of Winds, now rests its weary Bones upon some soft Bed of *Ouze*, there to moulder by a gentle Decay, rather than again tempt the faithless Ocean — His turbulent Project perplex'd and embarrass'd his neighbouring Nations; Your milder Councils have had no such mischievous Consequence, and no Country has been embar-

vi DEDICATION.

rais'd by them, except Your own — His Conduct encreas'd the Vanity of his Countrymen, Yours has had a more moral Effect, it has humbled the Pride of Yours — The utmost of his Policy was to gain the Hearts of his Fellow Subjects; but Your wiser Maxim has been to gain what is infinitely of greater Value, their Purfes — He had many Friends at Home; but then he had as many Enemies Abroad; You certainly must have had many Friends Abroad, but You had many Enemies at Home — Every Design, every Motion of his made the Enemies of his Country *tremble*; Every Design, every Motion of Yours have made the Enemies of Your Country *laugh*.

This Great Man is said to have been the very Idol of Poets, Orators, and Philosophers; You have been an Idol too, but it has been of Persons of a very different Character — of Men who were nothing a-kin either to Poets, Orators, or Philosophers; to such You open'd Your Doors, nay, Your Heart, and sure the less they were entitled to any Encouragement the greater was Your Goodness in bestowing it upon them. — *Fortune*, who is blind herself, often favours the Blind, and You, who have been *Fortune's* Mignon, have imitated the Example of Your Benefactress, by confining your Favours to those to whom *Nature* had deny'd hers — the *Italian* Proverb says, *Chi non ha, non è*, He that does not possess something, cannot be said to live; and You have put that into the Pockets of the Persons here describ'd, without which they wou'd scarce be allow'd the Name of Men, nay, more, You

D E D I C A T I O N. vii

You gave them Place and Preferment, You set them up in View to the World, by committing Things of the greatest Weight and Importance to their Management, and were the First who discover'd that extraordinary Secret, that heavy Affairs ought to be manag'd by heavy Heads — O Thou the Great *Mæcenas* of the Ignorant and the Stupid, the Fool has always found in Thee, a Patron, and even the Knave a Friend, and nothing has gone from Thee unrewarded except Merit!

But yet I am apprehensive, that Posterity may not do Justice to Your Character; I fear it will not be believ'd hereafter, that one Man should live to perform so many Actions all of a Piece; and if the Generation to come should compute Your Years by Your Blunders, they will conclude, that You liv'd at least to the Age of one of the old Patriarchs; but if these Papers should go down to those Times, I will desire Posterity to apply to You, what *Martial* said of a famous Wrestler who died young,

Dum numerat Palmas, credidit esse Senem.

And now I am drawing near a Conclusion, I most humbly entreat Your Excellence to take the following Papers into Your Protection, and tho' you may possibly think they were not written with a Design of recommending those Talents to the World for which You have render'd Yourself so famous, yet You have *Reason to know*, that nothing is more common than for Men to change their Opinions, upon *feeling* the Merits of the other Side of the Question; and
I have

viii **D E D I C A T I O N.**

I have heard that the best Way to engage an Author, (next to praising his Works) is to give him a good Pension; this is the great Softner, for the *Genus irritabile Vatum* seems almost extinct; those, particularly, that have had the Honour to be list'd in Your Service are esteem'd the most inoffensive Animals living; they hurt Nobody, their very Enemies allow they have no Stings: If You should judge me harmless, that is to say, dull enough to have the Honour to be enter'd upon their List, be so good to bind me to You by Interest, for I am much afraid I shall not serve You by Inclination; then, like an errant Author, perhaps, I may tack about, and unsay all I have said — *Blundering* shall no more pass with me as the Effect of a weak Judgment, but I will number it amongst the Liberal Sciences — the grave Men of Sense who have censur'd Your Conduct, as well as the impudent Fellows of Wit who have made You their Jest, shall be the Subject of all my Satyre; and no Man shall have my good Word but Yourself and worthy Friends, whom I shall beg Leave to describe in the Words of the Poet,


Quales ex humili magna ad Fastigia Rerum
Extollit, quoties voluit Fortuna Jocari,



T H E



T H E
P R E F A C E.

 *S* often as weekly *Essays* have been collected into *Volumes*, it has been customary to reprint them all, without *Distinction*; but as we have taken a different *Method*, it will be necessary we should give our *Reasons* for doing so.

In the first Place we have observ'd, That in the Works of this Nature which have come from the ablest Hands, some Things have been vastly inferior to the rest, nor can it happen otherwise where a Writer has not Leisure to wait for those happy Minutes when the Genius exerts itself, but is oblig'd to send a Paper to the Press by a certain Hour, whether he is in Spirit for Writing or not. — The Case will be the same when they are the Works of many Hands, for
Men

x The PREFACE.

Men differ not only in their Style, but in their Ideas, and Conception of Things.

The Method, therefore, we have taken to make this Collection as agreeable as we could, has been to reject all those Papers that don't seem to come up to the Spirit of the rest, as well as those written upon Matters not of so publick a Concern, and some that consisted wholly of Quotation from other political Writers; for tho' they might be seasonable for the Occasions upon which they were first quoted, yet we would not burthen the Readers with what they may have in other Books, when the Circumstances that occasion'd them are past.

In fine, we have made Choice of none for this Collection but what may be of a more lasting Use, and, except the first which serves as an Introduction, none but such in which the Publick is interested.

The Times in which they were wrote have furnish'd Matter for Dispute as much as any that have gone before; the Nature of these Disputes, and the Causes of them, may be seen in these Papers, as well as the Struggles that have been made against such Measures as many thought to be inconsistent with the true Interest of the Nation. Here are likewise some Points of History to be met with not altogether unworthy of being preserv'd,

THE PREFACE. xi

serv'd, and which, perhaps, will not be found in any other Writings. It may be known hereafter, that a Law was made against Bribery in the Election of Members of Parliament; but yet Posterity may not be inform'd by what Kind of Providence such a Bill came to pass, because the Writers of History may not have had the Opportunities of observing such Events, — the Particulars of that Affair are here, with all Fidelity, related in the Paper of June 12, 1731; there are several other Things of the same Nature to be met with in these Essays.

I have thought fit to put down the Date of every Paper, that People may know how to ascertain and fix the Time of any remarkable Incident, and tho' there may appear a Distance sometimes betwixt the Dates of one and t'other, (occasion'd by the intervening Papers being laid aside) this can occasion no Interruption or Obscurity, because every Discourse is of itself a distinct Essay.

As they were written with a Design to expose the little Cunning and false Arts of knavish and ignorant Pretenders to Wisdom and Policy, and to pluck the Mask off from Imposture, the Publick was pleas'd to give them as kind a Reception, when they came out single, as any Papers of the like Nature have met with which went before them; and,
indeed,

xii The P R E F A C E.

indeed, it was this Benevolence of the Publick towards us which encouraged us to reprint them in Volumes.

It will be observ'd that many of them are written in an ironical and ludicrous Style; the Writer was oblig'd to give them that Turn, when he found it was the general Opinion of Men of Sense, that most of the Arguments on the other Side were so excessive trifling and mean that it would have been ridiculous to have given them a serious Answer.

I have nothing more to add to this Preface but to advertise the Reader, that there is an Alphabetical Index fix'd to the End of each Volume, by turning to which he may readily find out any Matter contain'd in these Discourses.



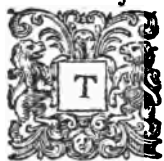
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Select LETTERS.

SATURDAY, Sept. 28, 1728.

Dear Cousin FOG,



THE Occasion of my present Address to you, is to acquaint you, that I was lately seiz'd with an Apoplectick Fit, of which I instantly died : However, you need not be startled at receiving a Letter from the other World, for you may perceive it does not smell of Brimstone ; by which you will conjecture, that it comes from the temperate Side of *Elysium*.

I was so suddenly snatch'd off, that I had not Time to make my Will, therefore I have been oblig'd to do it since my Decease. It is no strange Thing in your World for a Man to make his Will after his Death : — A thorough-paced Attorney will tell you there is nothing easier in the whole Course of Practice.

Amongst all my Relations, I have cast my Eyes on You to be my Heir, and the Executor of my last Will and Testament ; and I was determin'd in this Choice, as well in Regard to your personal Merit, and superior Parts, as in Consideration of your

VOL. I.

B

being

being the nearest to me in Blood ; for the *Fogs* are the younger Branch of the Family of the *Mists* : Nay, they have often disputed the Priority with us, and maintain'd, that the *Fogs* were the elder House ; and sometimes gone so far, as to give out, that the *Mists* were only a little Bastard Branch of the Family of the *Fogs* : You have heard perhaps what Hatred and Enmity this bred betwixt the two Families ; such Animosities (I say) have often risen amongst our Ancestors, as have overspread the whole Country ; they never would converse or speak to one another for some Ages, till at length the Dispute was happily decided by a *Welsh Parson*, who came into the Country to sell *Runts*, and to whom, for his great Skill in Genealogy, the Thing was referr'd ; and I don't doubt but you have heard that he gave it in Favour of our *House* ; since which Time our Families have lived in the greatest Harmony in the World, and strengthened it by frequent Inter-marriages, to the great Quiet of the whole Country.

But I think it is necessary to say something of our Family, that the World may know who we are. — The *Mists* and *Fogs* (Time out of Mind) have been very considerable in *Lincolnshire*, where they had a strong Influence, the greatest part of the Country being under their Command, especially the *Fens* ; the *Mists* were commonly dull Boys, yet afterwards proved many of them to be bright Men, which occasion'd that *Lincolnshire* Proverb, that a *Misty Morning is the Sign of a fair Day*. — The *Fogs* were generally plain plodding Fellows, and proved the same from first to last, without the least Alteration ; and many of them came to be considerable People in the World, and acquired great Fortunes, there having been several rich Aldermen of *London* of that Branch, and not a few Serjeants at Law ; nay, some of them have formerly arriv'd to the Dignity of

of Judges upon the Bench : They generally behaved with great Coolness and Moderation, and distinguished themselves by a peculiar Sign of Sagacity, which was of finding out the Merits of the Cause, by sleeping over the whole Tryal. — Nor must we omit taking Notice, that many of them have had the Honour to sit in Parliaments, where they were remarkable for their Taciturnity, that great Mark of human Wisdom. And I have often heard it spoke to the great Praise of our Kinsman *Francis Fog*, Esq; of *Fog-Hall* in the *Fens*, that he serv'd his Country in several Parliaments for Thirty two Years successively, in which 'Time he never was absent a Day from the Business of the Nation, while the House sat, and never once open'd his Lips there. — The *Mists* have been dispers'd in several Countries. The *Scotch Mists* were a very ancient Family, and us'd formerly to be extremely troublesome to the *Engljb*, when we invaded *Scotland*; from thence it became a By-Word to say, that a *Scotch Mist will go to an Englishman's Skin*; for it seems, they were always close at the Backs of the *Engljb*. I can't say whether they are descended from us, or we from them; however, we call Cousins. But there is a Person whose Name is *Will of the Wisp*, alias, *Jack o'the Lanthorn*, who pretends to be related to us, because he was born upon some of our Lands, being sprung up from a *Fen*, in a hot Day; but he is a raking Vagabond Fellow, that takes Pleasure in leading People out of their Way, and throwing them into Ditches at Night, so that we never own'd him to be of our Family; the Truth on't is, none of us were ever addicted to those Monkey Tricks: All that can be said of us, is, that we were (what they call in the Country) honest *soaky* Fellows; yet great Lovers of a dry *Joke*.

The Family of the *Mifs* is extinct in me; but I thought it necessary to say thus much of our Ancestry, that you who are now the Representative of both Families, may the better know how to support our Character and imitate our Example, since I desire that you will succeed me in the publick Character of a Writer, which Character I have many Years maintain'd, to the great Entertainment, and Edification of my Countrymen. — If you tread in my Steps, you will rally Vice, Folly, and Affectation of every Species; you will recommend Merit where-ever you find it, whether in the Actions or Writings of Men: — And I charge you particularly to keep *Keyber* under due Correction; have a strict Eye over him, and call him to Order, whenever he *steals*, that is to say, whenever he writes. — I have here met with Sir *John Van*——, one *Burnaby*, and several others, who have told me more of him than ever I knew before; I shall from Time to Time transmit to you their Complaints. You will have an Advantage over all your Cotemporaries, of receiving frequent Intelligence from this World of ours, for none of the Writers of the other Side, have any Correspondence with that Part of *Elysium*, which is the Retreat of Heroes. — I have seen Queen *Elizabeth* here, and Pope *Sixtus* the Fifth; and have already drank a Pot with *Brutus* and *Cassius*; we have talk'd of the Times, and I shall take an Opportunity of sending you their political Notions of the present Posture of Affairs in your World. — Adieu! the little Spirit which is to carry this, is just upon the Wing: I have not Time to say more; but to recommend to you to take up my Pen, and begin your Lucubrations immediately.

I am, dear Cousin Fog,

Your sincere Friend and Humble Servant,
Till the Resurrection,

N. M. I. T.

FOG's JOURNAL.

5

Mr. FOG,

I Herewith send you a *Welsh* INVENTORY, carefully copy'd from an ancient Manuscript, lately come to my Hands upon a particular Occasion. If you think 'twill divert your Readers, as it has done several Persons who have seen it in the Original, you will use it to that Purpose, if not, to some other.

Yours, JAMES MERRYMAN.

Han Infantry of all the Cords and Shattels of Mr. Morgan ap Raynard Maddock, of the County of Glamorgan, Sbentleman, who was tyed detestable, and left three poor Infidel behind her; presented to the Right Ur/bippful Hugh of the Office.

I N *Primis*, In the Pantrie, of Poultrie one Pig, one Coose, one Cock-gelding, *alias* Capon.

In the Pantrie of Plate, one Cridiron, one Fry-pan, one Dry-pan, one Wooden Cup, tree Can, two Woodcock-head, with Prain pickt out for raking hur Tobacco.

In the Naperie, One Irish Rugg, one frize Shirkin, one Sheepkin Tublet.

In the Tairy, One toasting Sheefe, tree Oat-Cake.

In the Kitchin, One Pan Wild-curd, one White-pot, one plack Pudding.

In the Cellar, One Firking of Whiggen, two sowre Sider, one Pottle of Lleyne Sack, called Glasidore.

In the Armorie, Of Weapons for kill hur Hen-nemie, one pack Sword two Edge; two Elch hook, one long Club, two Mouse-trap.

In the Carden, two Ped of Garlick, one Onyon, tree Leeke.

B 3

In

In the Lease Ways, One Cow two Horns; one Mountain Calf.

In the common Field, two long-legg'd Sheep, and one fourteen and twenty Coats.

In the Broomy Close by the Mountain, two Robin run-hole, tree Hare, one Stone plack Pird, one Hedge-how, her own Cuds if hur could catch hur.

In the Parn, Tree Cock of Oat, two Pease, one Pean, one creat Hawke, was gall hur, an Owl to kill Mouse.

In the Study, one *Welch* Pible, two Almanack, one Erra-Pater, tree pallet, one two hand Pettigre.

In the Closet, One Straw-hat, one Pottle of Versuse.

In the Ped, Two naked Pody, one Shirt, one flanel Smock at Pets-head.

Item, More of Cattel about the House, One Dog, two Car, one hundred Mouse, a Pock on her, eat all hur Sheese; a Thousand white Flea plack list.

Item, More in Lumber; One Wife, two Shildren, one call hur little *plack Shack a Morgan*.

Item, Under the Wall, One short Ladder, two Rope, one Coach two Wheele, to carry the Dung from the Parlour Window.

Sub protestatione de addendo.





SATURDAY, Dec. 14, 1728.



WE are told in a late Paper, publish'd by your Brother Journalist *Caleb D'Anvers*, that it is the Business of publick Writers to oppose all false Reports, and to set the World right, in respect to any invidious Insinuation, which may be artfully given out, to asperse the Characters of great Men.

It is no doubt, but that all Persons of Honour will agree in so generous a Sentiment, but it is something strange, that after what he has deliver'd upon that Subject, he should himself incur the Censure of falling into the Vice he has so freely condemn'd.

To make myself a little better understood, I must take Notice, that the aforesaid Gentleman lately gave us an Extract from a certain Pamphlet, which he would insinuate to be written by a certain great Man, now living: This is the groundless Insinuation, with which I charge him; for I believe I can produce Circumstances sufficient to induce Men to believe, that the Gentleman hinted at by him, could have no Hand in that Pamphlet, nor was it done by any Person who was even a Friend to his Reputation.

The said Pamphlet was written in the Year 1713, and is called, *A short History of the Parliament*; printed for *T. Warner*, Price 3 d. — I shall quote part of the Dedication, which is look'd upon to be by much, the smartest Part of the whole Performance.

To

To the Right Honourable the Lord ———

My LORD,

WHEN a Man resolves to turn Author, he immediately looks out for some great Man, under whose Protection he hopes his Works may come into the World better recommended, and tho' private Interest has generally a great Share in the Choice of Patrons, I was resolv'd upon this Occasion without any other Regard, to fix upon a Person, whom all the World should agree to have the best Right and Title to this Dedication; and here it was impossible to be long at a Loss. Were I to celebrate the Actions of *Blenheim*, *Ramillies*, and *Oudenard*, to whom could I think of inscribing such an Undertaking, but to the great General who was known to command on those glorious Days, and without naming his Name, every Body would agree to whom alone the Honour was due. — In commemorating the three last Winter Campaigns in Parliament, which tho' not expos'd to much Danger, must be allowed to require some Conduct and Generalship. At whose Feet could I think of laying this Treatise, but at your Lordship's? And to mention your Name, would be to suppose, that the Fame and Reputation you have acquir'd by retrieving the Affairs of the *French King*, was not as well known to all the World, as the mistaken Glory of the Duke of *Marlborough* in distressing them. — Your Troops, it must be confess'd, were good, ready at the Word of Command to go upon any Attack, resolute and determin'd to go through upon all Adventures; but yet, as the Glory of conducting them is entirely due to your Lordship, I beg Leave to lay before you this short Treatise, which I have undertaken, not out of any Affection
to

‘ to scribbling, much less with Hopes of any Reward
 ‘ from your Lordship. I will therefore neither
 ‘ prefix your Name, nor subscribe my own, trusting
 ‘ that the World will easily know the One, and
 ‘ hardly guess at the Other.

I might take Notice that the Turn and Thought in this Dedication, is stolen from a Dedication prefix'd to the Translation of *Cæsar's* Commentaries, but this would look like a Cavil betwixt two Writers concerning a Property in Words and Sentences, whereas our present Design is only to rescue the Reputation of a great Man, from the Suspicion of being the Author of a very wretched Pamphlet. Therefore I shall proceed to make a further Quotation from another Part of the said Dedication.

‘ Far be it from me, to detract from the Honour of that noble Assembly (the House of Commons) but if it were no Offence to your Lordship's Modesty, I would take upon me to say, they never could have performed so many remarkable Services, had they not firmly adher'd to your Lordship and their MONOSYLLABLES.

This is sufficient to satisfy my own private Judgment, that the Pamphlet could not be written by the great Man pointed at by him: Nay, I think Old *Caleb* is so very unlucky, that the Passages quoted from it by him, are Proofs against his own Assertion.—— I will not trouble the Readers with a Repetition of them at length, for I take it for granted, almost every Body has seen them; I shall only observe, that the *Pamphleteer* throws out some Invectives against the Parliament for granting a Sum to pay a Debt contracted upon the *Queen's* Civil List, which was demanded but once, in a Reign of near fourteen Years, when the Civil List was low,

low, to what it has been since, in a Time of War, towards the Maintenance of which her Majesty granted one hundred thousand Pounds in one Year, and seven hundred Pounds a Week, for a considerable Time besides, which with her Allowance for the Maintenance of the poor Clergy, and several other Charitable Donations, amounted to vastly more than the Sum demanded.

Whoever will consider what has been done, with respect to the Civil List, since those Times, and of the Part this Gentleman has acted in it, will be convinced, that such Reflections could never drop from his Pen.

The *Pamphleteer* falls with great Severity upon the Parliament and their Directions, (by which, perhaps, he may mean the Ministry) for aiming at making themselves Popular, by endeavouring to detect great *Frauds, Abuses and Misapplications of publick Money, and for calling for an Account of our publick Debts.*

This perhaps is the most senseless Insult that ever was offer'd to the Representative Body of a Nation, and therefore it could not come from a Gentleman who understands our Constitution so well. — I call it *senseless*, because every Body knows that the Custom of enquiring into the Application of publick Money, is the Security of the Property of the *English* Subject, and whenever our Parliaments cease in that Duty, we must be betray'd and sold.

Nay, it is demonstrable, that it could not be that Gentleman's way of thinking; for in another Parliament the late *Earl of Oxford* was call'd to an Account, on Suspicion of that, and some other Misdemeanors, in whose Prosecution that Gentleman bore a considerable Part; and tho' no Misapplication, no Bribery could be found against him, or any other of that Ministry, yet no Body will dispute

pate but that the Gentlemen concern'd against him did their Duty in making the Enquiry.

Whenever the *Pamphleteer* names *France* or the House of *Bourbon*, he can scarce keep within the Bounds of Decency. He does not conceive we can be safe in any Treaties with that Kingdom, or that we are out of Danger while she has any Power left.

I will say no worse, than that a Gentleman of so good an Understanding, cou'd never be carried away by such unreasonable Prejudices.

The *Pamphleteer* thinks it was a high Crime in the Ministry, to advise the *Queen* to prorogue the Parliament so often, the latest Time of meeting, according to modern Custom, (says he,) being before Christmas; he maintains, that the People suffer'd by those Prorogations, for if they had met before Christmas, as usual, the Army might have been sooner disbanded; and then he employs his *Arithmetick*, to compute what this might cost the People: — It is true, indeed, he owns, the Peace was not concluded; yet, he conceives, that ought to be no Reason against disbanded the Army, since there was a Cessation of Arms, tho' at the same Time, he represents *France* as the most perfidious Power in Europe to deal with.

I am very positive, that the Gentleman we are speaking of, is not capable of such absurd Reasoning; he wou'd not argue for disbanded an Army, before a Peace was made, especially, when he had to deal with a Power at once so artful and formidable as *France*: — Nor cou'd he apprehend any fatal Consequences at Home; he cou'd not imagine the Liberties of *England* to be in Danger from an Army's being kept up three, or six Months, or even six Years; especially, an Army maintain'd by Authority of *Parliament*; and indeed, no body had Reason to fear any such Thing; for it is well known, that People were eas'd of the Burthen of an Army,

as soon as the Peace was concluded; and a Man might have travelled from Lands-End, to Lands-End, without seeing a red Coat.

But the strongest Reason for my asserting it not to be of the Gentleman's Writing, still remains behind, which is the *Pamphleteer's* Manner of speaking of the political Interest of *Great Britain*, with Respect to other Nations; and his Remarks upon the Ballance of Power, which he very wisely thinks is lost, because all the Dominions of *Spain*, both in *Europe* and the *Indies*, were not given to the Emperor; and in fine, he makes such Discoveries upon that Subject, as a Man cannot read without being amaz'd at his stupendous Ignorance.

This, I say, convinces me, that the Pamphlet must be the Work of some other Hand; for all that have had the Honour of this Gentleman's Conversation, have heard him reason in an extraordinary Manner upon Foreign Affairs: But what need I mention that, when the whole World sees, and *Great Britain* in a particular Manner, feels the Effects of his profound Skill in Politicks.

The *Pamphleteer* wou'd persuade us, that the Subjects of *England* must lie under the most deplorable Slavery, of any People in *Europe*, if ever their Parliaments shou'd come to be influenced by a Ministry.

No Man will believe, that this Gentleman shou'd speak so irreverently of the best Institution in the World. — If we appeal to what has been writ and said of late Years, by those who pretend to be this Gentleman's Friends, we shall find it constantly urg'd, that Parliaments can give a Sanction to any Thing: Thus, if a Ministry shou'd ruin the Publick Affairs, either by *Depredations*, or *want of Skill*, or *both*, and the Parliament shou'd be wrought upon to approve their Proceedings, it must not be call'd Slavery, because, (say they,) the *Ministers do nothing but by Law*: I say, whoever has convers'd with
a cer-

a certain Party, or read what comes from that Quarter, may have observ'd, that this is the ingenious Logick of the Times.

But I cou'd produce Instances from every Paragraph in the said Pamphlet, to prove the Improbability of this Gentleman's being its Author; and therefore, I can't help thinking it a little disingenuous of your Friend *Caleb*, to insinuate a Thing which must lessen that Gentleman in the Minds of Men; for if it shou'd obtain Credit, the World will be for comparing his Conduct with his Writings, and perhaps, from thence conclude, that he must be either a Person of no Understanding or Knowledge in Political Affairs, or else void of Truth and Honour.

I confess, I can't name the Author of the said Pamphlet; but let him be who he will, I hope he has a *better Trade*, than that of a Political Writer; otherwise I'm afraid, that all the Encouragement he will meet with from Men of Sense of any Party, won't pay for his Garret in *Grub-street*.

As there cannot be a greater Mark of Candour, than to confess an Error, I hope *Caleb* will retract that Mistake, whether it was occasion'd by Spleen or Misinformation, and do the Gentleman publick Satisfaction.





SATURDAY, Dec. 21, 1728.

Cousin FOG,



WITH great Satisfaction, I heard that you were adopted Heir of our late Kinsman *Miss*, our Family is spread into many Branches, and we are all rejoiced at the Choice made of you to be his Successor. — The Delay of his Will and Appointment, gave us great Uneasiness, for a few Weeks; but we are not to wonder at it, considering the Distance of the *Elysian Fields*, the Difficulty of the Correspondence, and how the Roads are infested with Rogues of all Sorts and Sizes.

We comfort our selves for his Departure and Silence, with the Hopes of your Philosophick Lucubrations, and honest Invectives against Vice, which will give a Reputation to all your Relations, and procure some Emolument to yourself.

You must allow me thro' Consanguinity Sake, to offer you some Advice, to interest myself particularly in the Reputation of your Labours, and thro' Love of my Country, to have a general Concern for their Success. — For the Safety of yourself and Kindred, you must practice the nicest Caution; at the same Time for their Honour, let no Threats or Penalties deter you from bravely and honestly endeavouring to benefit the Publick, by decrying and exposing Knavery. — Sure there never was an Age which more than the present, wanted Reformation and Correction. But tho' there are Rogues harden'd in Villany, grown wanton with the Spoils of their Neighbours,

Neighbours, who think themselves too artful to be detected, and secure by not being yet punish'd; do you, however, persevere; in you it will be meritorious, if you can shame or reason any one Person into the Road of Honesty and Justice.

I have often reflected on the present diffused Spirit of *Forging, Cheating, Robbing* and PLUNDERING, and I am fully persuaded that it proceeds from the extravagant Encrease of Avarice; but then I cannot conceive the Cause from whence, that base, that unworthy, that Un-Gentleman-like Quality should arise, and be so universal: Not from Example, for every one is convinced, the *Whig*, as well as the *Jacobite*, that there never was so adequate a Choice of Noble, Sagacious, Disinterested, Beneficent, and above all Politick Ministers; not from the Apprehension of Want, or the least Diffidence of Plenty, or Encrease of Trade, for those who speak and write for the Ministry, are always congratulating the People on their happy Situation and flourishing State: Not from Negligence or Supineness in our Spiritual Guides, for there never was a greater Store of Charity Sermons, by the *undignified* Clergymen at least. — And yet, notwithstanding such *shining Examples*, such *general Prosperity*, and such *learned Instructions*, our Roads, our Streets, our ——— are so crowded with Rogues and Vagabonds, that we cannot stir abroad with Security, nor Sleep in Peace: I dare scarce send this by my Servant to the Post-Office, lest the Avarice for the Penny should interrupt the Conveyance of my Letter. — We seem to want new Arts to detect them, new Jails to secure them, and new Punishments to correct them. — The *Tower* alone remains solitary and desolate: That honourable Prison is reserv'd for *illustrious Scelerates*. Traps are set in Warrens for Weazels and Pole-Cats, Farmers keep Foxes chain'd in their Yards, the *Tower* only is the Den for Lions; and perhaps

Posterity may see the Day, when our common Jayls will not be more crowded with *publick Robbers*, than the Tower with *Robbers of the Publick*, for sure it cannot happen in our Days. — But if it should fall out otherwise, beware how you lash such Lions, be sure their Tusks are drawn, and even their Paws lop'd, for should their Claws be only pared, they may grow again, and be so much sharper; for if we look into History, I don't doubt, but we may meet with Instances, where august Senates have condemn'd Men to Jayls, for *notorious Bribery and Corruption*, whom succeeding Senates have extoll'd and reverenc'd, with infinite Justice no doubt; for it is probable, the World might be as well satisfied of their being innocent of the Crimes before the ignominious Sentence, as they were convinc'd of it afterwards; and if so, it is probable they might persevere in a Conduct which prov'd so successful to them.

Be it your Maxim to revere all Men in Power. — *St. Peter's Chair* does not more certainly confer Grace and Infallibility, than a *White-staff* inspires Justice and Wisdom. — I have liv'd long, and seen many Changes at Court in our own Country; and I never yet saw a first Minister, who became not instantly the ablest and wisest Man of the Nation.

To observe no higher than the Revolution; I well remember the Power and Influence of the late Earl of *H* —, his Ingenuity, his Munificence, nay, even his Excellence in *Poetry, Pamphlets, and Dedications*, will, as long as they last, transmit his Name to Futurity; but he was totally eclips'd by the consummate Prudence, the Oeconomy and Application of the late Earl of *G* —, a greater Genius appear'd in the late Earl of *O* —, his Friends extoll'd his Dexterity, — and his greatest Enemies were not able to charge him with Corruption. And who can *now* deny, that these and all other
Excel-

Excellencies are not compriz'd in the great Man, who at present presides in the Treasury? This is a Subject I could expatiate on with Pleasure; but such are the Times, that it is not consider'd, what is written, but who writes.—Should You and Master *Caleb D'Anvers* panegyricize the Ministry, some weak Constitutions will not digest it; some perverse ones would convert it into Satire, whilst the grave Bombast, and the false illogical Conclusions of the *London Journal*, shall be caress'd and extoll'd by some grave Heads, and be thought to mean something very excellent, because unintelligible.

The surest Method to gain Merit, and secure Applause, will be to inveigh sometimes against the Dangers of *Popery*, of which no Man has the least Apprehension, and to expose *Jacobitism*, of which no Body is now afraid. This Method is not only meritorious, but safe and triumphant, because no one dares oppose it. Attentively peruse and consider that most ingenious Letter to Mr. *D'Anvers*, Numb. 118. written by a Masterly Hand. I promise you, with great Art and Eloquence he has exploded derogatory and groundless Insinuations, which proceed only from *Jacobites*, and has placed in the clearest Light the Integrity of the Parliament, the Wisdom of the Ministry, and the Learning of the Prelates.

However, in Justice, I cannot forbear taking Notice of the Behaviour of the Parliament of *Paris* in some late Instances.—*France* is esteem'd an arbitrary absolute Monarchy, not only the Employments, and, if not the Lives, but what is more valuable to generous Minds, the LIBERTY of the Subjects is intirely at the Mercy of the Prince; and it may be presum'd, when Occasion requires, Pensions and Presents are offered.—In such a Government, Unadherence to the Rights and Privileges, an Incompliance to the despotick Will and Pleasure of the Court, manifest a glorious Fortitude of

Mind, and excite an Admiration of such true Patriots. — The Behaviour of that enslaved, of that Mock-shew of a *Parisian Parliament* (as it is by some represented) during the *Mississippi* Infatuation, is so fresh in every Man's Memory, that to hear it repeated, wou'd be too tedious to many, and remind others but too sensibly of their deluded emptied Pockets: Let it suffice to say in General, the most conspicuous of that *brave Assembly* were Imprison'd and the Remainder sent to *Pontoise*, to harass and render their Convention more difficult, as it were to Banishment; but to no Effect. — They brav'd *Threats* and *Penalties*, and scorn'd *Bribes* and *Pensions*; nor wou'd they comply to Register *Decrees* and *Arrests*, which they conceiv'd prejudicial to the Community. Their Resolution and Firmness were not more honourable in this noted Case, than their Justice was in the late *Monsieur Le Blanc's*; not all the Promises and Power of a Prime Minister, not all the Resentment and Malice of a Woman, cou'd awe or engage that venerable Body to a Censure of that honest, able Minister; he was unanimously acquitted to his and their immortal Glory. — Comparisons are odious; I am far from being an Admirer of the *French Government*; (I hope there is no Offence in saying this, tho' of so advantageous and faithful an Ally) — but I am ready even to adore the Gentlemen who compos'd that desired Parliament; I know not Instances of greater Virtue and Fortitude.

What then are we not to expect from a Parliament of *Great Britain*, a Land of FREEDOM? Elected without *Bribery* and *Corruption*, return'd by Honest Magistrates, who are deterr'd by severe Penalties, from Partiality and Injustice, composed of *Gentlemen of Interest* in their Country, and to prevent the Temptation of Places and Pensions, not only of Wealth, but of *Landed Estates*. Each Burgeſs

is oblig'd to have, and therefore doubtless has 300 l. a Year in *Terra firma*, each Knight of the Shire 600; and when there happens a controverted Election, the Merits of it are debated *soberly* and *dispassionately*, and always determined *justly* and *impartially*: Such is the Wisdom of our Laws; and the Nation is very sensible, how exactly they are comply'd with and executed.

I am apt to think, *Cousin Fog*, that this Justice and Regularity have not been observ'd at all Times with such Delicacy and Regularity as at present. The second, or indeed, more strictly speaking, the first Parliament in the Reign of King CHARLES the SECOND, was denominated the *Long*, and sometimes the *Pensionary* Parliament. I confess, I have often wonder'd at this latter Brand of Distinction; for after their first Exultations for the RESTORATION of the Royal STUART Family (without Doubt, the first Family of Europe) had a little subsided, they grew more and more restif, and refractory to the Measures of the Court, and were for that Reason at last dismiss'd. However, the Gentlemen who compos'd that Parliament, thought their Honour so affected by that scandalous Imputation, that they look'd on it as incumbent on them to give the Nation Satisfaction, on a Point by which their Liberties and Properties subsist; and therefore came to a Resolution, to form and take an Oath as a Proof of their Integrity to their Country, and of the Falshood of the Calumny; and whenever such Aspersions shall be thrown on any Parliament, it is to be hoped and expected, that they will condescend to vindicate themselves, and gratify the Publick in the same Manner. For tho' Oaths are not look'd upon by some, to be so obligatory as formerly; yet by the Members of the present House of Commons, they will be ever held as sacred, as our Veneration for them is sincere. — I presume,

no Person will be offended at your giving the Publick the Form of that honourable and necessary Oath, therefore I here send you a Copy of it.

‘ **I** *A. B.* Do protest before God, and this House
 ‘ of Parliament, that directly nor indirectly,
 ‘ neither I, nor any for my Use, to my Knowledge,
 ‘ have since the first Day of *January*, 1672, had,
 ‘ or received, any Sum or Sums of Money, by
 ‘ Way of Imprest, Gift, Loan, or otherwise,
 ‘ from the King’s Majesty, or any other Person by
 ‘ his Majesty’s Order, Direction, or Knowledge,
 ‘ or by Authority derived from his said Majesty,
 ‘ or any Pardon, Discharge, or Respite of any
 ‘ Money due to his said Majesty upon Account,
 ‘ or any *Grant*, *PENSION*, or *Reward*, or any Pro-
 ‘ mise of any *Office*, *Place*, or *Command*, of, or
 ‘ from his Majesty, or out of any Money, *Treasure*,
 ‘ or Estate, of, or belonging to his Majesty, or of,
 ‘ from, or by any foreign Ambassador, or Mini-
 ‘ ster, or of, or from any other Person in the
 ‘ Name, or by the Appointment, or with the
 ‘ Knowledge of his Majesty, or any of them,
 ‘ otherwise than what I have now discover’d to this
 ‘ House, which I have subscrib’d with my Name;
 ‘ neither do I know of any such Gift, Grant, or
 ‘ Promise, so given or made since the said Time,
 ‘ to any Member of this House; but what I have
 ‘ also insert’d in the said Writing; nor have I given
 ‘ my Vote in Parliament for any *Reward* or *Promise*
 ‘ whatsoever, so help me God.

You will oblige many by printing this Oath,
 whatever you do with the Letter.

Your affectionate Kinsman,

HUMPHRY HAZEY.

SATUR-



SATURDAY, Jan. 4, 1729.



ANY Political Writers have given it as their Opinion, that their cannot be a surer Sympton of the declining State of a Commonwealth, than to see it *fall into Contempt* with its Neighbours.

This *Contempt* may be occasioned by various Causes.

— A prodigal and corrupt Management at home, will beget *Contempt abroad*, as soon as it is known.

— The not protecting the Subjects against Insults or Outrages from the Subjects of other States, or neglecting to obtain Reparation, if such Things should be committed by Surprise. — It may also happen by the *Ignorance* or *base Characters* of the *Persons* employ'd to *negotiate* with foreign Courts.

When Men but little skill'd in great Affairs are trusted to manage for a Nation, those who treat with them will thereby be strongly tempted to aim at Advantages over a People so *miserably represented*. —

How often does it happen in the Course of a long Negotiation betwixt different States, that one Side shall rise in her Demands upon the other, and at length insist upon Terms she never dreamt of in the Beginning of a Treaty; but this will always fall out, when one of the Parties has *fathom'd* the shallow Politicks of the other.

It is easily discovered when a Commonwealth is in this unhappy Situation, by the Treatment she receives from her Neighbours; for then her Enemies make Slight of her, and her Allies appear cold and backward in going into her Measures; for Men of
Sense

Sense will always be apprehensive, that where there is no Wisdom in Council, there can be but little Hopes of Success.

History abounds with Examples of most wretched Creatures, who have been rais'd to Employments in States: Sometimes miserable Eunuchs, who knew nothing but to perfume their Hair or paint their Faces, have sat in Councils; Barbers have been made Governors, and Taylors, or *the Sons of Taylors, Ambassadors, and Secretaries*. — Fellows without either natural or acquired Parts, have with an audacious Impudence run their Heads into the publick Affairs; and such as have been qualify'd for nothing but to be *Zanies and Buffoons*, have pretended to the Science of managing a Peace, or the Dexterity of conducting a War.

There is scarce any Avocation (be it never so mean) in the Management of which some little Skill and Address is not required. There are certain Rules necessary to be known, in order to steer a Boat or drive a Coach. — A Man must travel a Road before he can pretend to be a Guide in it: — But in conducting the great Affairs of Nations, some Men would persuade us, no Instruction or Study is of Consequence, but the Authority of the Place is a sufficient Qualification; as if Employments were only created to load the People with Taxes, and gratify some *particular Person*, who has a numerous *mean Kindred*; but the Interest of Nations is best committed to meer Chance, and the Safety of Princes to the Cast of a Dye.

We know the Party which advances this new System of Politicks: We know the Men who have found out, that it is a Matter of no Importance, whether the *foreign Affairs* of a Nation are managed well or ill; for as Europe is divided, (say they) it is the Interest of all the Powers who do not aim at
univer-

universal Monarchy, to preserve any of the rest from sinking.

But we hope however, when they next declare themselves in this manner, they will be so kind as to put in an Exception in Favour of *Great Britain*, for sure they cannot wish to see a Ministry in *England* which should govern in such a manner, as to bring the Trade and Interest of their Country, to subsist by a precarious Dependance on the Councils of a foreign Nation.

It is no Doubt, the Ballance of Power in *Europe* cannot be long preserv'd, unless there be some Commonwealth more respected for its Strength and Wisdom than the rest, to whom an Appeal may be made, whenever the common Tranquility is disturb'd by an ambitious and restless State; but such a Commonwealth must have the Reputation of being governed upon sound and honourable Maxims, otherwise she will be neither reverenc'd nor fear'd by her Neighbours. Nothing can raise up a Nation to the glorious Rank of being Umpire of Right and Wrong amongst others, but the Fame of her great Wisdom and Moderation.

Homer, who has been a Fountain of Politicks, as well as of all other Arts and Sciences, describes the little Gods and Goddeses furiously engaged in the Quarrel betwixt the *Greeks* and *Trojans*; but *Jupiter* the Father of Wisdom, is represented descending upon Mount *Ida*, holding a Ballance in his Hand, weighing the Destinies of both Parties.

Such for some Ages past has been the glorious Rank of *Great Britain*, which never insulting her Neighbours, has never been insulted by them, and by a wise Moderation, steering equally betwixt their jarring Interests has kept herself out of all unnecessary Quarrels, and therefore has been always considered of the highest Importance at such Times, as the rest of *Europe* has been running into War and Confusion;

sion ; for it is then that contending Nations have applied to her for Justice, and waited for the Decision of her Councils with the same Respect, that holy Men attend the Answers of an Oracle.

An *Englishman* has long had one Thing to boast of beyond any Subject in *Europe* ; that in Times like these, when the Pretensions and Interests of Princes have been under Debate, his Country (*while she had Men of Wisdom and Honour in her Councils*) has constantly made the same Figure with *Jupiter*, amongst the inferior Deities, holding the Ballance, and weighing the Destinies of the rest, and his Prince appear'd not only like the Father of his own People, but the Father and Tutor of Kings.

They must be Men of a most noble Genius, who first rais'd their Country to this high Post, but a little Skill will be sufficient to preserve, what nothing but a most consummate Wisdom could acquire. He must be a Hero who first gains an Empire ; but if a very poor Genius succeeds, he may maintain it : Even Fame is a great Support of Power, and an Opinion that a Nation is wisely governed, will serve to keep its Neighbours in Awe, and maintain Power, at least till some fragrant Instances are given of a contrary Conduct.

Our late *gracious Queen ANNE*, whose Memory must every Day grow dearer and dearer to these Nations, while there is Sense and Gratitude left amongst Men, rais'd Us up to the highest Pitch of Glory ; our Victories gave the World a Dread of our Valour ; but the timely Peace we made, and the Advantages obtain'd for the Trade and Security of *Great Britain*, induced them to entertain a high Opinion of our Wisdom, and we made a greater Figure, than we had some Ages before : It cannot be forgot what Court was made to Us by all *Europe*, towards the latter End of that happy Reign. — All the World had their Eyes upon Us,
and

and seem'd to be aw'd and influenc'd by our Motions; we appear'd in the midst of Nations like some Majestick Figure in the Paintings of great Artists, taller and fairer than all around Us.

I do not suppose that we are sunk in the Esteem of the World since that Time, and therefore I can't imagine what some Men mean, when they talk that we must surrender *Gibraltar*, for that the late Regent of *France* promis'd it to the King of *Spain*. — What Indignities do these Men throw upon their Country by such Discourses? Is not this plainly to insinuate, that we have lately been so influenc'd by *France*, that the Disposal of the undoubted Rights of *England* have been determined in the Councils of *Versailles*.

There is a Writer who calls himself *Publicola*, who is pleas'd to talk as boldly upon this Subject, as if he had a License for abusing the Memory of the late King, and ridiculing the present Ministry; but I hope, (as hardy as he is) he will not pretend to maintain, that our Circumstances are alter'd for the worse, since the Death of *that beloved QUEEN*; he will not venture to declare, that we are weaken'd by any corrupt Management within, or that our Neighbours have discover'd a Weakness in our Councils, which encourages them to insist upon Terms to our Dishonour.

No! No! We *Englishmen*, are as sensible as the *French* or *Spaniards*, that *Gibraltar* is not to be taken by Force, and sure much less need we fear being negotiated out of it, under so *uncorrupt and able* a Minister, as we are blest with at present.

The same *Publicola* talks just as profoundly concerning the Ballance of Power. — *What a Rout* (says he) *is made about the Ballance of Power!* and so without the least Shew of Argument, runs into a silly Affectation of Smartness, upon the gravest Subject in the World.

But sure the Ballance of Power which *Great Britain* has held for above two Hundred Years is no such Trifle ; and our Ancestors, who took it to be the best Security of our Trade, and of Consequence, a Post of infinite Gain, cou'd not be mistaken ; and therefore, it is to be hoped, that those Gentlemen, who are supposed to have no *Aversion* for *lucrative Employments* for themselves and Families, will never argue for giving a Post of Profit away from their Country, which at different Times has cost her much Blood and Treasure to maintain.

We know by Experience, that it is the holding this Ballance, that has made foreign Nations give Us many Advantages in Trade preferable to others ; for no People in their Senses ever venture to disoblige those who are to be their Judges, whenever they shall happen to be at Variance with their Neighbours.

We know likewise, it cannot be lost without the basest Treachery, or most scandalous Mismanagement in the World ; and therefore we may be easy upon that Point, as long as the present Set of Ministers are at the Helm of our Affairs.

If a future Set of Men should hereafter bungle and play this Advantage into other Hands, what will they not deserve ? They shou'd think on the Fate of *Phaeton* : It is indeed no more than a poetical Fiction, but sure, it contains an excellent Moral : It gives Us the Example of a vain-glorious ignorant Wretch, who must needs mount the Chariot of the *Sun*, to light and govern the World ; but he is no sooner in the Seat, but his Head grows giddy, he knows not what he does, he drives like a Fury, and sets the Earth on Fire, however, he tumbles from his Seat and breaks his Neck.

It were to be wish'd, that all bungling Politicians, who lay hold of the Reins of Government, without the Skill to manage them, *who kindle a Flame*

Flame they know not how to extinguish, shou'd (for the Good of Mankind) meet with the same Fate.



SATURDAY, Jan. 18, 1729.



HERE is nothing an *Englishman* can value himself upon beyond any other Subject in the World, so much as the Enjoyment of Liberty; a *Frenchman*, a *Spaniard*, or an *Italian*, may boast of a finer Climate, a sweeter Air, and a Soil productive of greater Delicacies for the Uses of Life, but wanting LIBERTY, they want that which must give a Value to all the rest.

We are told, that before the *Revolution*, some Attempts were made to bereave Us of this valuable Blessing; it is not our present Purpose to make a Disquisition into that Matter; it is not impossible, however, but such Attempts may be made hereafter, and therefore, methinks, that a Discourse upon that Subject can never be unseasonable.

I have met with a Treatise upon Government, written soon after the Revolution, which I think will be much more to the Purpose, than any thing I can say myself: It gives us a true Idea of Liberty, and by just Observations made on the Condition of the *Roman* People, teaches us to know where Liberty subsists in Effect, and where only in Name, and therefore I shall quote as much of it as we have room for.

‘ At Romæ ruere in Servitium, Consules, Patres, Equites, (Quanto Quis illustrior) tanto magis falsi,

' ac festinantes, *But at Rome they all ran headlong into Slavery, the Consuls, the Senate, the Gentry, and the nobler the Person was, the more base, and the greater Haste he made.*

' This was the Condition of *Rome*, when *Tiberius* assumed the Empire; but God forbid it should be the Case of *England*, for our Constitution will be entirely lost, whenever such a Corruption happens. We may indeed preserve the Name of LIBERTY, and some of its outward Forms, but no more than what will serve to keep our Chains the faster on: Tyrannies have often been subverted, where Princes govern'd merely by their own Will, without giving to their Subjects the least Appearance of being free; but those absolute Monarchies are hardly to be shaken, and that Servitude is lasting, where the People are left to make their own Fetters.

' It is a Matter of great Wonder, that from the Time of *Augustus*, downwards, the *Romans*, who had always some brave and virtuous Men amongst them, tho' in private Stations, shou'd never make one Attempt to restore the Commonwealth, and to shake off that Power, which some of the Emperors exercis'd with so much Exorbitance; but in all Likelihood it proceeded from this, that the Soldiers and common People, without whom no great Revolution can be made, were amused by their Governors with a Notion that they were still Free; because, in outward Shew, the Commonwealth had the same Form as in elder Times. — There was a Senate, Consul, Tribunes, and an Appearance of all the ancient Magistrates, tho' nothing remain'd of the ancient Liberty. But this, perhaps, the common People might not feel, for the Cruelty and Fraud of *Tiberius*, the Madness of *Caligula*, the Stupidity of *Claudius*, the Riots and Lust of *Nero*,
' the

' the Gluttony and sordid Mind of *Vitellius*, the
' Vanities of *Otho*, and the enormous Vices of
' *Domitian*, did not fall much upon the inferior
' Rank of People, who all the while had *Panem*
' & *Circences*, which was all they desired: But the
' Mischiefs these Monsters brought upon the World,
' fell for the most part, upon noble Heads, who
' with the false Opinion they entertain'd, that the
' Laws still govern'd, because they saw every Year
' Consuls, and a *Senate* in the same Manner as in
' ancient Times; but *this Senate being corrupted, made*
' *the Tyranny boundless and safe*; for the People cou'd
' never be induced to oppose that Power, which
' still bore the outward Resemblance of their an-
' cient Form of Government.

' In the same Manner, if in future Ages our
' Parliaments should be debauch'd in Principles,
' and become willing to be the Instruments of a
' Prince's Will, and to act as he directs them, Ar-
'bitrary Power wou'd be here settled upon a last-
' ing Foot, for the common People wou'd never
' join with any, who wou'd attempt to redeem their
' Country, because they will be *deceiv'd by Names*
' and *Forms*, and think the Laws govern'd, and that
' they are free, if the outward Shew of the Con-
' stitution is still preserv'd.

' *When Corruption has seiz'd upon the Representatives*
' *of a People*, it is like a Chronical Disease, hardly
' to be rooted out. — When servile Compliance
' and Flattery come to predominate, Things pro-
' ceed from bad to worse, till at last the Govern-
' ment is quite dissolv'd.

' Absolute Monarchies are in Danger of great
' Convulsions, when one Man, their Prince, hap-
' pens to be weak, or wicked; but Common-
' wealths, or mix'd Constitutions are still safe, till
' the Majority of the leading Men are debauch'd
' in Principles.

‘ However, Arbitrary Monarchy has this Advantage over the other, that the one Man, their Prince, is mortal, and if bad, he may be succeeded by a better ; but a People thoroughly corrupted, never returns to right Reason ; and we may see, that the Depravity of Manners which began in *Rome*, presently after the second *Punic* War, among the Nobility and Gentry, became every Year worse and worse, till at last *Julius Caesar* destroy’d the Commonwealth.

‘ After his Time, under the succeeding Emperors, every Senate grew more abject and complying than the other, till in Process of Time, the old *Roman Spirit* was utterly extinguish’d, and then that Empire by Degrees became a Prey to barbarous Nations.

‘ If all Parts of the State do not with their utmost Power promote the publick Good, — If the Ministers have other Aims than the Safety and Welfare of their Country, — *If such as represent the People, do not preserve their Courage and Integrity,* — If the Nation’s Treasure is wasted, — If Ministers are allow’d to undermine the Constitution with Impunity, — If Judges are suffer’d to pervert Justice, and wrest the Law, then is a mixt Government the greatest Tyranny in the World : It is Tyranny established by Law : It is authoriz’d by a kind of Consent, and such a People are bound with Fetters of their own making.

‘ A Tyranny that governs merely by the Sword, has few Friends, except Men of the Sword ; but legal Tyranny, (where the People are only called to confirm Iniquity with their own Voices, by the Persons of their Representatives) has of its Side the Rich, — the Cowardly, — the Lazy, — those that know the Law, and get by it, — ambitious and immoral Churchmen, and those whose Livelihoods depend upon a quiet Posture of Affairs, and

and upon keeping the Possession of what they have no good Right to ; and the Persons here described, compose the influencing Part of most Nations, — so that such a Tyranny is hardly to be thrown off.

Men may be said to be enslaved by Law, or their own Consent, under corrupt or degenerate Republicks ; such as was the *Roman Commonwealth* from the Time of *Cinna*, till the Attempts of *Julius Caesar*, and under degenerate, mix'd Governments, such as *Rome* was, while the Emperors affected to make a *Shew* of ruling by Law, but with an aw'd and corrupted Senate.

What has been, may be, and tho' we in this Nation may perhaps at present be free from the Fears of the before-mention'd Misfortunes, yet in after-ages, bad and designing Ministers may think their Conduct is no way to be maintain'd but by the Sword, and that they cannot securely prey upon the Commonwealth, till they have made their Master absolute.

Men do as industriously contrive Fallacies to deceive themselves, (when they have a Mind to be deceiv'd) as they study Frauds to deceive others ; and if it leads to their Ends, and gratifies their present mean Designs, they care not what they do, imagining it Time enough to think of serving the Publick, after they have serv'd themselves ; and in this View, very many betray their Trusts, comply, give up the People's Rights, and join in invading Fundamentals, flattering themselves, perhaps, that when they are grown as great and rich as they desire to be, it will be then Time enough to make a Stand, and endeavour to redeem the Commonwealth. — It was some such Notions as these, which at first led *Pompey* to join in the Measures of those who intended to subvert the *Roman Liberties* ; and af-


- ‘ afterwards, when he repented, and desired to save
- ‘ his Country, he found them grown too strong,
- ‘ and himself too weak to do any Good.’

Thus far our Author, who says more upon this Subject, than we can conveniently insert at present. At length he exhorts all Degrees of Men to endeavour at preserving, not the Form only, but the Essence and Purity of that Government, under which we have prospered near seven hundred Years.—— It happens seldom (says he) that any Country is entirely subdued by Foreign Force; and tho’ Civil War be a raging Fever, it goes away of itself, when the Humours that feed it are spent; and is sometimes no more than the Signs of a Health too florid, and the Effects of too much Blood in the Body-Politic.—— But ill Conduct in a State, if it is of any Continuance, wastes it by slow and certain Degrees, and at last brings an incurable Consumption upon all its Parts and Limbs.



SATURDAY, Jan. 25, 1729.

There's something rotten in the State of Denmark.
Shakespear.

- ‘  T has ever been my Opinion, that a
- ‘ *Freedom in Speech or Writing*, ought
- ‘ always to be allow'd and encourag'd,
- ‘ when it is exerted with an honest
- ‘ Design of serving our Country, and
- ‘ when it is employ'd in exposing and censuring any
- ‘ real Mismanagement of the Publick Affairs. —
- ‘ On

On the other Hand, it must be acknowledg'd to be a very dangerous and wicked Abuse of this Liberty, to endeavour by general Accusations, unsupported by any Proof, and by Assertions which the Authors of them either do not know to be true, or perhaps know to be false, to incense the Nation against the Government.

The Lines here quoted, are the *Exordium* or Proem to a very extraordinary, and, I might say, a very merry Pamphlet, lately publish'd.

The Author puts on a grave Face, in order to persuade the Readers, that he intends to justify the Persons in the Administration, from the *Falshoods*, *Calumnies*, and *Misrepresentations* lately cast upon them by certain Writers, whom he styles *malicious* and *disaffected*, for no other Reason, but not being well pleased with the present Situation of our Affairs, both at Home and Abroad.

But whether he is in Earnest or in Banter, must be left to the Opinion of the Publick, when we have made a few Observations upon the Work itself.

I will agree with him, that Men who advance Things which they either do not know to be true, or know to be false, shou'd be pointed out as infamous, and shun'd as the Plagues of human Society. But I believe on the other Side it will be allow'd, that those Men who at any Time employ the Talents which God has given them, in detecting the dangerous Effects of weak and ignorant Councils, and in endeavouring to animate Men to oppose those Measures which must run the Commonwealth into certain Ruin, are good Subjects to their Prince, and Patriots to their Country.

I will allow likewise, that nothing can manifest the upright Intentions of a Ministry, more than admitting a Scrutiny into their Conduct; it is putting themselves fairly upon their Country, and is a Sign, that they are conscious of no Weakness or
Cor-

Corruption in the Course of their Administration, which may draw upon them the Resentments of the People:

But if they are for hanging up all Reason and Argument as Traitors to the State: If they, or the Persons who write on their Side the Question, attempt to awe Us with the Royal Authority, and are for sheltering all their Mismanagements under the King's Name, where they think, out of Fear or Respect, we must pursue them no farther, Thinking Men will be apt to judge that there must be something very *rotten* in the Bottom of Affairs; something I say, that will not bear any Sort of Inquiry.

When we see any Army quit the Field to the Enemy, and skulk for Protection under the Cannon of some fortified Town, we know it is because they are too weak to venture an equal Engagement.

I apply this to none but the Author we are now taking Notice of, who makes Use of the King's Name, in Things which regard the Ministers.—— Thus he says, the *Libellers* of the Times endeavour to create in the People an unjust Diffidence towards their Prince.—— And when he complains of the Reflections thrown upon such and such Measures, his Way of answering it is, telling us, that *his Majesty gave such and such Orders.*

Since this Gentleman seems to know so little of the Nature of our Government, as to censure every Remark upon the Conduct of a Minister, as a Reflection upon the Sovereign, it is fit we should let him know, that our Constitution separates the Counsellor from the King, in all Disputes which regard the Publick; and therefore, whenever we have a dangerous Prospect of Affairs before us, the Subject is allow'd to examine the ministerial Parts of Government, and has a Right to demand how such Things come to pass.

This

This is what we call LIBERTY; for no doubt on't, Things may be so scandalously mismanag'd, that every Man who is for supporting the Men of Business, must be an Enemy to the Prosperity and Honour of his Country.

Weak and corrupt Ministers in the Councils of a Prince, are like Clouds about the Sun, which hinder its Warmth and Light from falling upon the World, nor can it shine with any Lustre, till they are dispersed and driven from it.

Tho' I have said thus much, it is not my present Design to insinuate, that our Affairs are any Ways declined by the Management of those great Men, who are at present the Support and Ornament of the State. — I shall only shew by a short Remark or two upon this Pamphlet, that the Author, by a pretended Defence, has *Libell'd* the Ministers in a more severe Manner, than the Writers of the other Side have in all their Remarks upon the Conduct of the two last Years.

There are two Things concerning which he pretends to set us right; one is, in clearing the Ministers from any Neglect in protecting the Effects of our Merchants, and hindring the Depredations of the *Spaniards*; and the other is, to prove that Letters of *Marque and Reprizal*, were not refused to the Owners of several Ships taken, as has been commonly reported.

We shall begin with that concerning the Captures of our Ships, and I believe it will be best to deliver his Sentiments in his own Words.

' The first Point I shall consider, (says he,) is
 • the supposed Inactivity of our Squadrons, and
 • the Depredations committed by the *Spaniards*
 • upon our Merchants in the *West-Indies*. These
 • have been magnify'd with a particular Pleasure
 • by the above mention'd Writers, and, as they
 • wou'd have the World believe, with an unan-
 • swer-

‘ swerable Reproach to the Government, which has
 ‘ been confidently charg’d upon this Head, with
 ‘ the most shameful Neglect of our Trade and Na-
 ‘ vigation, and with having taken no sufficient
 ‘ Care to protect our Merchants from those Losses,
 ‘ or to revenge them, by making Reprizals another
 ‘ Way. ——— The Government has been accused
 ‘ on one Hand of insolently provoking the *Spani-*
 ‘ *ards* to injure us, and on the other, of tamely sub-
 ‘ mitting to those Injuries.

This is Part of the Calumny he complains has
 been rais’d against those in the Administration,
 which he answers and disproves, (*as he tells you*) by
 giving a Copy of the Orders made out for Admiral
Hofier, Commander of the Squadron of Men of War
 sent to the *West-Indies*.

First, the said Orders are too long to be inserted
 here; and Secondly, I can’t help thinking that they
 are of his own Forging and Invention: However, I
 shall give the Substance of them in as few Words as
 I can, and then offer my Reasons why I think they
 cannot be genuine.

‘ He tells us Admiral *Hofier* was to make the best
 ‘ of his Way for the *West-Indies*, and by all means
 ‘ to hinder the Galleons and Flota from passing into
 ‘ *Europe*: To that purpose he was to sail to what-
 ‘ ever Ports they lay, and when he arriv’d, was to
 ‘ give Notice to the *Spanish* Governors not to Ship off
 ‘ their Money, or send out their Ships; and if after
 ‘ this Notice given, they should attempt to push out,
 ‘ he was to seize and detain them. ——— He was
 ‘ also to send a Frigate before him to *Jamaica*, with
 ‘ Orders to the Men of War station’d in those Parts,
 ‘ to sail and join him.’ — This I think is pretty
 much the Substance of these pretended Orders.

I think there is Reason enough to believe, that this
 is not the true Copy of the real Orders which were
 given to the said *Admiral*; for if he was to block up
 the

the *Spaniards* in their Ports, and to send them such *Messages* as this Author pretends, all Men who understand any thing of the political Maxims of Nations, must expect they would exert the utmost of their Strength (poor as it is,) to resent the Affront; and therefore it is not to be suppos'd, that Ministers of such *great Knowledge*, wou'd order the *Admiral* at the same Time that this hostile Appearance was carried to the *Spanish* Coasts, to take away the Men of War usually station'd about our own Settlements, and by that means leave them destitute of their usual Defence, and more expos'd to any Attempts upon their Trade, even of *Pirates*, than in Times of general Tranquility.

But what shall we say of a Writer, who advances Things for positive Facts, which have all the Appearance of Falshood, and who discovers a Sneer against the Administration, in every Remark he makes? He tells us the *Admiral* had Orders to treat so and so; and a little after he is pleas'd to make this Reflection; whether he means it Ironically or no, let others judge:——— *Our Ministers Conduct shew'd a particular Care to give no Offence to our Enemies.*

If a Writer on the other Side shou'd have rack'd his Invention for Misrepresentations against Men in Power as this Author has done, there might have been Room for some Complaints of the Abuse of the Liberty of Writing.

When he comes to speak of Sir *Charles Wager*, and his Squadron, he tells us, that he cruiz'd betwixt Cape *St. Vincent* and *Cadiz*, and that he carried with him that same honest Heart that he did some Years since, upon much the like Occasion. We shall not dispute the honest Heart of that Officer, nor his cruizing between Cape *St. Vincent* and *Cadiz*, for I believe they are the only Assertions in the whole Discourse, which are not liable to Objection.

But we conceive it would have been something to the Purpose, if he had demonstrated to us, that that *Admiral*, by cruising in that Station, contributed to defend our Merchants trading up the *Mediterranean*, the Coasts of *Portugal*, &c. from the *Spanish* Privateers, because this wou'd have tended to have made the People more content with the immense Charge occasion'd by those Naval Armaments.

I own, he seems to have a tender Concern for the Reputations of our Sea-Officers, and he acquits them of all Mis-conduct and Failure of Duty; but I think it is very visible that he endeavours as much to lay all our late Troubles and Losses upon the Counsels which directed those Projects, and upon the Orders which our Officers were oblig'd to obey.

Let us consider next, what Remarks he makes upon the Letters of *Marque and Reprizal*. — He falls with great Severity upon those Writers, who (he owns) did not plainly insinuate that Letters of *Marque and Reprizal* were refused the Subject, who had suffer'd by the *Spaniards*, in order to rite themselves; but by their indirect Discourses, (he says) they would have the People believe so, and therefore he will shew their *Malice*, by setting that Matter right: — So he proceeds to tell you, that several Merchants did petition for Letters of *Marque and Reprizal*; that after the Opinions of the *Attorney General* and *Advocate* were consulted, Orders were given for making out Commissions, that those Commissions were sign'd; however, there being a Treaty on Foot at *Paris* for Preliminaries towards a general Peace, it was thought fit to defer issuing out those Commissions, till the Success of those Negotiations should be seen.

Thus he abuses other Writers for presuming to think that these Letters of *Marque* were refused, (for they did not venture to assert it) when he himself has the

the Boldness to tell us at the same time in plain Terms, that they never were *granted*.

If he be serious in this way of arguing, I appeal to all unprejudiced Men, Whether he does not deserve the Censure, he has very ignorantly cast upon others, of *endeavouring to impose upon common Sense?*

Besides, — Is there not something shocking to Belief in what he here advances? — Is it reasonable to judge, that Ministers who have the Honour of their Country, and the Interest of the Subject uppermost in all their Actions, should tie up the Hands of our *plunder'd Merchants* from doing themselves Right, because a Treaty was depending, and which no Man could tell how long might be depending, and which the *Spaniards* had but little Regard to, that they went on taking all the Ships they could lay their Hands on to the very last Day? And —

This Author blames some of the present Writers, for raising *general Accusations against Men in Power, unsupported by any Proofs.* — But see how kind he is to them, for here he endeavours to furnish them with Proofs, but such Proofs (I confess) as will weigh but little with those who conceive a high Opinion of the Honour and Capacity of our present Men of Business; but yet if Things advanced upon no Authority, should obtain a general Credit in the World, they may have a bad Tendency to the private Interest of some Men.

With us, whenever Things *disbonourable* to the Nation, or *ruinous* to its Interest have been transacted, and the Men in Employment think to stop our Mouths, by telling us it was the King's Orders, *Englishmen* have ever thought they have had a Right to ask, who advised *his Majesty* to give such Orders? and if any Counsellor *skulks* behind the Throne, and thinks to make a SCREEN of the Royal Name and Authority, to cover his weak and destructive Measures,

tures, it has been customary to lead him forth, and show him to the People.

I confess the Subject has no Occasion at present to have Recourse to such Methods, because all Men are agreed in the Capacity of our Ministers; but I thought it necessary to say thus much to an Author, who seems to have but little Regard to the Tendency of his Discourses.

I cannot leave this Gentleman, before I take Notice how slightly he has treated the Ministers in one short Reflection — He says the Practice of the Writers tends to expose us to the Contempt and ill Will of foreign States. — What is this but to tell the World, that a Phamplet or a Journal is more regarded in other Countries, than the Conduct of our able Ministers? .

If it be true, (as he pretends) that he has *stated these Matters of Fact by the best Lights he was able to procure*, and since his Lights are so very bad that they leave us more in the Dark, as to the Reasons of Things, than we were before, I hope he will be so good, as to endeavour to procure some that are better, before he writes again.



SATURDAY, Feb. 8, 1729.

S I R,



THE Presentment of the Grand Jury of London and Middlesex, which you gave us in your Paper of the 25th of January, is drawn up with such an honest and masculine Spirit, that we must be far gone in Iniquity, if it does not inspire us with a just Abhorrence of the Vices of a most profligate Nation. But

But in all that Catalogue of Sins, there is no Mention made of Flattery, or a base Compliance to Power; Vices which bring more certain Ruin on a Commonwealth, than all there hinted at besides.

Irejoice, that nothing of this Nature has appeared strong enough to merit a Presentment, either from a Grand Jury, or the *Voice* of the People; for in Times less degenerate than the present, Flattery has often shewn its servile Face and then nothing was to be seen in all Ranks and Degrees of Men, who aim'd at Place and Preferment, but fawning and cringing on some base *Wretch* in Power, whom perhaps the Vices of the Age, and his own more *signal Corruptions* had rais'd above his Betters.

The Manners of these Times, as I take it, have no kind of Tendency that Way: Our Writings in particular are the Effect of that honest Liberty which Men take, of discovering their Observations on Persons and Things; for every Age makes some Improvement in one Science or other, and ours has been peculiarly happy in its new Discoveries in Politicks. Your *Machiavels*, *Richliens*, and *Mazarines* are now proved to be a parcel of shallow, superficial Fellows; the Maxims of the first may do well enough indeed to amuse Pedants, as the Conduct of the two last might serve to raise such an insignificant Kingdom as *France*, from a low to a prosperous Condition: But what would become of them now, if they had to do with certain Persons that shall be nameless.

How far we have excell'd the Ancients in the practick Part of Politicks, I leave others to decide; but that we have gone beyond them all in the *Speculative*, I may venture to assert, and to prove it, need only quote all the Authors who for two or three Years last past, have writ on one Side of the Question from the *Enquiry*, down to the *Observations* on the *Conduct of Great Britain*, who with a great

deal of fine Reasoning have prov'd, that *it is not necessary that Ministers of State shou'd know any thing at all of State Affairs.*

I foresee these two profound Pieces will be translated into all foreign Languages, which I confess, I would prevent, if I could; for I should be sorry to see all other Nations made as wise as ourselves, and reap the Benefits of our Discoveries in the Arts of Government.

But to speak more seriously, I think it is as easy to know the Man who receives Bribe or Pension, by his way of talking on publick Affairs, as if he wore some Badge of his Infamy upon his Coat. — If you were to talk to one of these concerning the Loss of our Ships, his Answer is, What of that? — If you seem to wonder that such and such Measures should prove prejudicial, he grows angry, and asks you, *must Things be judg'd by Events?* — Every absurd thing that is said by one of their Leaders, they all catch and repeat like *Ecchoes*. — With such Men as these, a kind Season, a plentiful Harvest, and all the publick Benefits which fall on the People, proceed from the Ministers; but an *expensive Treaty*, an *ill-concerted Alliance*, and the Mischiefs flowing from them come from the Stars.

Our Poet *Shakespeare* has finely ridiculed the absurd Reasoning of this Sort of Men.

‘ It is the excellent Foppery of the World, (says he) that when Knaves or Fools are sick in Disappointment, (often the Surfeits of their own Behaviour) they make guilty of their Disasters, the Sun, Moon, and Stars, — as if they were Villanies on Necessity, — Fools by heavenly Compulsion, — Knaves and Thieves by spherical Predominance, — Drunkards and Lyars, by an influenc'd Obedience of Planetary Influence, and all that they are evil in, by a divine thrusting on. — An admirable Device to lay all ones Folly and Villany to the Charge of a Star.

Car-

Cardinal *Richlieu* would not allow that there was any such thing in Politicks, as good or bad Luck ; according to him, all Things were the Effects either of wise or of ignorant Measures. — As to our Affairs, I can see no Reason to believe, that the Stars are not as much in our Interest, as in that of our Enemies.

I remember, when the *Irishman* in the Comedy is complaining of his ill Fortune, Somebody tells him, there are no Stars for *Irishmen* ; but *Teague* will not allow that to be true, for he says, and swears to it, that there are as many Stars in *Ireland*, as there are in *England* ; — and I, for my Part, am of Opinion, that we have as many Stars in *England*, as there are in all *Spain* and the *Empire* : But suppose it were otherwise, if we have the wisest Heads, we need not fear getting the worst in a Treaty by their Majority of Stars.

Whenever ignorant Men have presided, bad Measures have been taken, of which our own History can furnish some Examples : — In the Reign of *Henry the Sixth*, a Treaty was enter'd into with *France*, which made the People very uneasy, and as they apprehended it, to be neither for the Honour nor Advantage of their Country, they clamour'd loud against it ; which so terrify'd those weak Ministers, that before the bad Effects of the said Treaty were generally felt, they procured a Clause to be inserted in an Act of Parliament, to the following Effect :

‘ That no Person or Persons for his faithful Counsel, given or to be given, unto the King, after the Wit and Grace that God hath list to give him, or any of them, shall be impeached, hurt, or griev'd but shall stand therefore at all Dayes quite and discharg'd against hym, and hys Heires and Successors for evermore.

Here,

Here, says my Author, corrupt and ignorant Men will think they have found an excellent Precedent to be indemnify'd, let them give the Prince never such faithless and unfound Advice. — But mark what follows.

The Commons hearing how this Proceeding incensed the People without Doors, in order to moderate Matters, inserted another Clause to the said Act, which confined the Indemnity to that particular false Step.

‘ Saving alway to the Reame of *England*, and to
 • all Lieges and Subjects thereof, their Heirs and
 • Successors, all their Liberties, Freedoms, Laws,
 • Customs, Privileges, that they, their Ancestors,
 • and Predecessors have, within this Reame, afore
 • this Time, except the Matter that is compriz'd in
 • this Article.

• And that they, and each of them, be demene-
 • ned and governed after the Laws, Usages and
 • Customs of the said Reame of *England*, and in
 • none otherwise, this Act notwithstanding.

• Neither that any Hurt, or Greve, in anywise,
 • grow to the Comyn of this Reame, their Heires
 • nor Successors, in Time to come, by Force of
 • this Act, nor by any thing therein contained.’

Without this second Clause, my Author tells us, our Constitution had been quite lost; for it was always the Custom for the Ministers to propose to Parliament all Alliances before they were made; but if a Ministry could make a private Advantage by an Alliance prejudicial to the Nation, they never more would acquaint the People with it beforehand; and if any Noise should be made about it afterwards, they need only answer, they had acted according to the best of their Skill and Knowledge.

But

But Thanks to the Spirit of our Ancestors, it is otherwise, though no Doubt they were called *Calumniators* by the Slaves of those Times, for opposing such a *right honourable* and *right stupid* Administration; so that now if Men to whom *God hath not lifted to give either Wit or Grace*, shall take upon them to make *Alliances* or *Treaties*, or govern Nations, they are to be punish'd for their *Ignorance*; for if they have no Skill or Address in Affairs, why did they undertake great Employments? — For Ignorance in the governing Part of the People, is as mischievous to the State, as wilful Treachery.

We read that by the maritime Laws, if the Pilot who undertakes to conduct the Ship, should by his Ignorance run into manifest Peril, it is lawful for the Crew to seize him, and chop off his Head that Minute. — If he should plead that he work'd the Ship according to the best of his Skill and Knowledge, it will avail him nothing, for he must die for undertaking an Employment without sufficient Knowledge, on which the Safety of others depended. — It is but reasonable, that those who steer the Vessel of the State should meet with the same Punishment, if they incur the same Guilt, because the Ruin is much greater.

And if it were otherwise, it wou'd furnish continual Matter of Discontent amongst the People; for all the Subjects of a free State have a natural Right to its beneficial Offices; but when the Million perceive that Employment fall only on the First of the People, those who happen to be distinguish'd by superior Skill and Capacities for great Affairs, they are content with being well govern'd, and seek no more: — But if they perceive that the Community is made the Prey of Blockheads, they will think hard if every Dunce should not have an equal Chance of *beaping up immense Riches*, of *building Palaces*, and *raising a Family*, by *ruining the publick Affairs*. A

A Nation may sometimes enjoy such a Calm, that tho' Men of no Address should happen to be placed at the Helm of Affairs, their Incapacity may not immediately be discover'd by the People; but if the World is put into a little Ferment, and they are oblig'd to act a Part in the troubled Scene, it is Odds but they *blunder themselves into Difficulties*, when every Attempt they make to recover, they certainly *flounder deeper in the Mud*, for Blockheads have a *strange Alacrity at Striking*, but then *Fortune* and the *Stars* must bear all the Blame.—Whereas in Effect, such Men are never so *unfortunate*, as when their shallow Projects meet with no *Misfortune* from the Hand of Providence.—The critical Death of a Prince, with whom a disadvantageous Alliance is made, or the Loss of a *Fleet* by Shipwreck, sent upon a wild Expedition, might serve to bring them off, and stop the Mouths of discerning Men; but when their Schemes meet with no unlucky Rubs, and yet end in Nothing, their *Ill Conduct* glares in the Face of all Mankind.

There are a kind of Spirits so unfit for the Management of great Affairs, that their Minds are bewilder'd and distracted with the least Difficulty, or most remote Shew of Danger: In this Situation, their Designs are as extravagant as was that Man's, who being told by his Servant, that there were Fellows about the House, (who he believed) design'd to rob it, jumps out of the Window, and breaks his Neck, to avoid the imaginary Danger. If Men of that *poor Genius* are in the Government of Kingdoms, Peace makes them mad and insolent to their Neighbours, and War affrights them; for tho' they abundantly want good Conduct, yet are they *passing cowardly*; when they talk most *like Lyons*, they are found to be *Hares*; and when they affect the *Fox's Cunning*, they are discover'd to be *perfect Geese*.



SATURDAY, Feb. 22, 1729.



VERY Author who publishes his Sentiments to the World, must submit them to the Examination and Censure of Mankind. Subjects which concern the Political Interest of Societies, shou'd above all others be brought to the Test, for there Truth is of the utmost Importance ; and it is the Duty of every discerning Man, to take false Glosses off of things, and to hinder his Countrymen from being imposed upon, where the Honour and Prosperity of the Commonwealth are the Points in Dispute.

It therefore appears a little trifling for Writers to complain of this Liberty as severe Usage ; ——— If they attempt to blind and deceive us, what Treatment can be too severe ? But if they really write for the sake of Truth, and there are Men who will carp at it, it will end in the Defeat and Confusion of such Men ; they will find themselves in the Condition of the Viper in the Fable, which quarrelled with the Files ; he wounded his own Teeth, but could not hurt the well temper'd Instrument.

I cannot see that the Author of the *Exquiry* has receiv'd any Injury upon this Head : — When his Pamphlet first appear'd, it was suspected to be written not for the *sake of Truth*, but to serve a certain Turn ; when Men had read and consider'd it, they saw thro' the false Colourings which were put upon Things, and therefore writ against it ; and if they think

think of it at this Day, as they did then, they have the Satisfaction of seeing all the World of their Opinion.

Yet now comes out a Defence of the *Enquiry*, at a Time, when one would think, that the Author might have Cause enough to be glad, if every Thing in it were forgot, as much as if it had never been written.

One of his Complaints is, that he thinks it very hard that he should be treated as a Tool set to Work by Men in Power, whereas he assures us, he had *sufficient Conviction of the Facts he set forth*, that it was that Conviction which set him to Work, and without it all the World could not have prevail'd upon him to have meddled.

But when we consider his Facts, we must be a little startled at his Declaration, for we find, that the Things which he has made the Foundation to ground all his Reasons upon, for the Conduct of *Great Britain*, are the most secret Intelligences which the Ministers receiv'd of the private Designs and Motions of Foreign Courts, those very Advices which are call'd *Arcana Imperii*.

This Circumstance alone, I believe, will justify those who ventured to charge him with being employ'd; for it is not reasonable to believe, that Ministers impart Secrets of such a Nature to any, except to those they think fit to set to work.

It is certain, that some of those private Intelligences have since been much discredited, which may induce us to believe him, when he declares he was not employ'd; for, I say, we have as strong Conviction now that some of them were false, especially those relating to private Articles of the Treaty of *Vienna*, as he had at that Time, that they were true; — but either Way, his Veracity must stand a little disputed.

He

He that expects to be believ'd upon no Evidence, but his bare Word, against Circumstances, must be a Person of most allow'd Veracity. — If a Minister of State (who is supposed to know secret Transactions) should declare, that such or such a Point was gain'd, and this should afterwards be discover'd to be an Imposition, no Man of common Sense will ever believe him after.

We have seen a Prelate of the Church of England, till then of unsuspected Truth, banish'd his Country upon Circumstances, notwithstanding his solemn Declaration of his being innocent of the Facts laid to his Charge. — I'd fain know, whether this Author was then of Opinion, that the Word of a Bishop ought to outweigh Circumstances?

There is nothing so common, as for Men who are foil'd, and overcome in Argument, to complain of hard Usage; it is the last poor Shift of those that are conquer'd; but he might as well complain and write against Time it self, the great Discoverer of hidden Truths, since that has ridicul'd him more than the *Craftsman* has done.

That many Things in that Pamphlet appear to Day, to have been either *misrepresented*, *ill-judge'd*, or *mistaken*, I presume he cannot deny; but whether it was occasion'd thro' *Inadvertency*, *Weakness*, or some other Cause, must be left to the World, who are to be all Men's Jury in Disputes of this Nature.

When he tells us, that *with Regard to the Reasonings, there will be often a Difference betwixt People who mean the same Thing*; I agree with him, and I take it, this was exactly the Case betwixt him and his Opposers. — It appear'd to them, that the Reasons given by him, for the Conduct of *Great Britain*, were weak and contrary to all the Rules of Wisdom and good Counsel, and therefore, that he injured the Ministers by a bad Defence. —

He declar'd then, that our great Sea Armaments fitted out at such vast Expence, were sent to distress the *Spaniards*, to block them up in their Ports, and to hinder them from receiving their Money from the *Indies*.—— Those who writ against the *Enquiry*, were of Opinion, that he was mistaken; for they took it, that the Design of *Great Britain* was Peace, and such a Proceeding must in all Probability bring on a War.—— They argued from those receiv'd Maxims which have been the Guides of the wisest Ministers of all Nations, who have look'd upon it as a great Error in Politicks, to suffer the Appearance of an Insult to pass unreveng'd; and therefore they fancied, that the ill Humour of the *Spaniards* towards us wou'd be increas'd hereby, and that an Accommodation wou'd be render'd infinitely more difficult.

It is true, this was but talking on both Sides, and those who at that Time had in Appearance the worst of the Argument, wou'd not yield without Demonstration; — but when Demonstration offers it self to them as clear as the Sun, they have Recourse to Quibble and Chicane, and tell you, that *Judgment drawn from the Events of Things, is not the Judgment of Reason.*

But I wish this Gentleman was able to satisfy us, why that Judgment by Events, is not a Judgment of Reason? — If a Physician should advise his Patient to use Exercise, and take the Air, and his Horse should happen to throw him, and break his Neck; I own it would be a severe Censure, to lay his Death to the charge of the Doctor; — but if his Distemper was such as could not bear the open Air, and he shou'd die by the Influence of that alone, no Man wou'd scruple to pronounce such a Physician, an ignorant, mischievous Quack.

In political Affairs, a Judgment from Events, (barring Accidents) is as rational and certain, as in the
the

the Case before mentioned, and I believe, I may challenge this Author, or any other, to give an Instance where any Nation was ever brought into Difficulties by wise Measures, where some supernatural Power did not plainly interpose to destroy the best concerted Projects.

Yet some Writers think otherwise, and how do they prove it? Why, if you urge that such and such Measures may tend to impair the Trade of a certain Nation, they answer very ingeniously, *What of that?* And if you assert, that such a Step has widen'd the Breach betwixt certain Powers; their Reply is, *Who can help it?* Almost every Paragraph of some late Papers and Pamphlets brought into my Mind the Saying of an *English* Poet,

—— Never did base and rotten Policy

Cover her Workings with such lame Excuse.

Might they not as well tell us in other Words, that there is no such Thing as the Light of Reason to direct us to what is right, or to teach us to avoid wrong Steps, but that Men are hurried into bad Measures by Fate and Necessity, — which may serve for a general Answer, to excuse all the Blunders that ever shall be committed as long as the World endures.

But if this Author will allow any Body except himself, to be a Judge in his own Cause, *some of his Facts appear extremely doubtful, and his Reasons drawn from them no way conclusive*, yet he has made no Step towards undeceiving those whom he might unwillingly have drawn into an Error, as he declares he should think himself oblig'd to do.

Perhaps he is so modest to imagine, that no Body has been drawn into Error by him: If that be the Case, I will own freely, I am of his Opinion.

But as there are some Things in the *Enquiry*, (which to say no worse of them) must be Mistakes, if the Author had been pleas'd to own ingenuously, that they proceeded from his little Experience in

publick Affairs, his Studies having been of another Kind, the World would have entertain'd a better Opinion of his Candor, and I dare affirm, not a worſe of his Skill in Politicks.

Yet methinks he ſeems conſcious that his Veracity ſtands a little ſuſpected by the World, otherwiſe, why does he ſound his own Praise, to what Purpoſe are all thoſe Proteſtations? He ſays, he *knows himſelf to have a good Heart, he knows himſelf to have as good Deſigns, and as great Regard for his Country, as any of thoſe that oppoſe him.*

If he has Truth of his Side, what Occaſion can there be for all this Self-panegyrick? Let that ſpeak his Praise and confound his Adverſaries. But I have obſerv'd, that in other Affairs of the World, Men ſeldom have Recourſe to theſe Methods, till the Merits of the Cauſe begin to appear ſtrong againſt them.

He ſeems indeed concern'd for his Reputation, which he endeavours to clear by aſſuring us, he has no Attachment to Miniſters. *How ſhould I,* (ſays he) *I thank God, I want nothing that the moſt Powerful in this World can give me.* But how do we know that? Is there no little Sparks of Vanity, of Avarice or Ambition, lurking in any Corner of his Heart? His Revenues may be great, and his Poſſeſſions large, but we muſt be acquainted with his Paſſions and Weakneſſes, before we can be Judge of his Wants. Have we not ſeen Men in honourable Poſts, with Incomes annex'd to them, perhaps as great as this Author can boaſt, whoſe Lives nevertheleſs have been but one continued Scene of *Bribery, Fraud, and the little low Tricks of Stock-jobbers?* In an Age ſo baſe and corrupt as the preſent, we muſt know the Man, before we can concur with him in his own Commendation.

Perhaps thoſe ſoft and tender Expreſſions which he makes uſe of in ſpeaking of Miniſters, may proceed from his abundant Chriſtian Charity yet there is

no

no reading them without being put in Mind of a certain Character, of a sober, dull Priest, who by a peculiar Address had climbed up to a Bishoprick; but such was his Goodness, that he never could see any Faults in Men of Power, but entertain'd an extream Indulgence for all their Follies and Vices, were they never so apparent, and had a Set of Phrases ready to excuse the worst Measures, as *humanum est errare*;— *Erunt vitia donec erunt homines*, &c. In short, I can't forbear observing, that there is a remarkable Resemblance betwixt the Style of this Pamphlet, and the Sentiments of that Prelate.



SATURDAY, March 8, 1729.

Interest Reipublica cognosci Malos.— It much concerns the People that their Enemies should be known to them.



IF my Memory does not deceive me, that Sentence is of *Cicero*, who was of Opinion, that it was the Duty of every honest Man to detect and expose the Actions of those who were working against the Liberty of their Country.

As to the Foreign Foes— it seldom happens that the People stand in Need of being inform'd, which of their Neighbours they ought to regard with the most jealous Eyes; the least Incroachment attempted by any State against another, with regard to Territory or Trade, makes a great Noise in the

World, and puts the injur'd Party upon its Defence, and all hostile Attempts require so much Preparation, that a People may be ready to receive their Enemies, before any Mischief can be done.

There are Nations whose political Interests draw so differently against each other, that there cannot be a strong and lasting Union betwixt them. Such, for some Ages, has been the Situation of *France* and *England*; but our People are bred up in such a Jealousy of the *French* Policy and Grandeur, that they of themselves are apt to suspect even any Kindness which comes from thence.

The Enemies a Nation has most to fear, are those in the Bosom of her Counsels, because there is less Defence to be made against them, and then her own Strength and Treasure which should be used for her Defence, may be employ'd to ruin her. A great Author of our own Country assures us, that a *weak* and *corrupt* Ministry, will be a surer Engine to destroy *England*, than all the Force the most powerful Neighbour can bring against it.

• When warm Heads (says he) full of Conceit,
• with a very superficial Wit, and no true *Wisdom*,
• pretend to guide a whole Nation, in a short Time
• they occasion more Disorders, than can be remedied in many Years.

• When Persons so describ'd, come to have a
• *corrupt* Majority on their Side, they diminish the
• Nation's Stock and its Coin, and lose its Trade,
• they anticipate all the national Revenues, they
• charge the Subject for many Years to come with
• a great Number of new Duties and Impositions,
• they bring the State into an immense Debt, and
• plunge it into such Difficulties, that hardly any
• new Revenues can be well erected: But it is
• hoped *England* will never fall into such destructive
• Hands.

• Our

• Our Wealth and Greatness depend absolutely
• upon keeping the Legislative Power to future
• Ages UNTAINTED, vigilant for the Publick Safe-
• ty, jealous for the People's Rights, *watchful over*
• *the Ministers*, and that the Members shou'd not be
• aw'd by Armies, or *seduced by Preferments, Bribes,*
• *or Pensions.*

• That we are safe at present is granted, and that
• we need not now be under the least Apprehen-
• sions of the like Dangers, and that the important
• Post of Liberty is well secured, is a *Thing seen and*
• *allow'd by all the World*; but a Man who writes may
• flatter himself, that his Papers will be transmitted
• to Posterity, and therefore these Cautions may not
• be altogether unnecessary.

• While we preserve our Constitution as we re-
• ceiv'd it from our Ancestors, bad Men may have
• a short Power of doing Mischief; but it will be
• but short, for their Rage and Folly will be in a
• little Time corrected: — But if we suffer our
• civil Rights to be incroach'd upon, and our an-
• cient Form of Government should lose its Vir-
• tue and Essence, bad Ministers will proceed with-
• out Controul; they will in a short Time dissipate
• the Nation's Treasure, the People will have no
• *Stock for Trade*, they will by Degrees lose their
• Industry, they will grow *inclined to Change*, resty,
• and indifferent in the Cause of Liberty, and per-
• haps willing to submit to any Foreign Yoke.

• Thus the *Spaniards*, whom wise and resolute
• Councils had rais'd to such a Degree of Power,
• that they put all *Europe* into Fear of universal
• Monarchy, were afterwards so reduced by a
• weak and despotick Administration, that with all
• their Wealth they were not able to support them-
• selves, or preserve their own Provinces.

• Freedom and Wealth proceed Hand in Hand
• together, and if the one is lost, the other will
• not

not long continue; but this Notion will be little regarded by those who can be only *great* but not *honest*, and have no way of making their Fortune, but by the Destruction of their Country.

For such as propose to grow Rich by Disorder and Misgovernment, have a strong Interest to beggar the People; the Confusion which publick Wants and private Necessities introduce, suits best with their Designs. — A wealthy Nation is apt to be sturdy, and jealous of its Rights, and to watch the least Innovations that may be made upon its Freedom, and a rich Gentry has generally been a little unmanageable; — and such bad Men will think, that the best Means of keeping the People humble, will be to keep them poor.

If any ever should be so wicked as to have Thoughts of enslaving *England*, they will endeavour by all possible Means to quell the Stomachs of the common People, by reducing them to the Misery and Want, which the *Decay of Trade* (if ever it happens) must bring upon this Nation; — and they will try to distress the Gentry in their Estates to that degree, as to make them hang about the Court for a Livelihood and Subsistence; for which Reasons, they will *wink at the Loss of our Foreign Traffick* and perhaps even contrive its Destruction, knowing, that upon the Prosperity of Trade, Rents and Land will at all Times subsist: — Nor can bad Ministers desire a better Circumstance, than to see (by their Male Administration) Men of Fortune reduced to the Necessity of attending and cringing to them for small Employments: — Does not this bring all into their Power? — Must not such as shall have the Distribution of these Favours, be courted, follow'd by the Major Part of a needy or luxurious Gentry? — Will
not

not so great a Capacity of helping and providing for others, add to their private Interest and Strength, make them safe in their ill-got Riches, and set them altogether *above Impeachments?*

‘ If bad Men should ever get into Power in this Nation, they will not only contribute to ruin our foreign Trade, but they will try to impoverish the Kingdom by *exorbitant Taxes*, to bring the Gentry and common People yet more under their Subjection; ——— they will likewise plunge their Master into Debts and Necessities, to render their little Tricks and mean Arts of some Use, and to put a higher Value upon the *base Band they will keep in Pay*. ——— For in former Times it has happen’d, that when a Court has wanted, those who have busied themselves in procuring Money to be given, have thought themselves of as great Consequence, as if they had given it out of their own Pockets; by which means they obtained Favour for themselves cheaply, because at the Expence of the poor People: ——— And this single Merit has attoned for all their Faults, it has excused *false Steps, Ignorance and Negligence*; it has shelter’d even their BRIBERIES, and cover’d all their *Disabilities* for the publick Service.

‘ Besides, they will endeavour more and more to *entangle their Master’s Affairs*, because a Prince that does not stand in need of Money, may come not to need them, whose Talents in all Likelihood will consist in nothing but laying *Burthens upon the People*, but not in disposing of the Sums granted for the Advantage of their Country; therefore a *wanting State, a troubled Government* and an indebted Nation will be their Element. ———

‘ Large Præmiums, exorbitant Interest — the diverting appropriated Funds — Choice of Funds in which to place out their own Money = Preferring
‘ one

' one publick Debt, postponing another, will always be good Matter for ill Statesmen to work upon, but afford a much better Harvest, when the Government continually stands in Need of new Supplies of Money, which probably it may always do, *as long as they continue in the Management of its Affairs.*

' Immense and large Sums raised every Year, will be a brave and ample Field for their Avarice and Corruption to range in, which would be much cramp'd and confin'd, if bound within the narrow Limits of what a Nation is but *well able to pay.*

Thus has our Author given us a Description of a bad Ministry, and by such Marks as these, they will at all Times be easily known to the People.— But it may be ask'd, Why is this urged now, when nothing like it is apprehended? I only answer, that all the World is apt to judge of Things by Comparison; and we who live in these virtuous Times, may, by reading this Description, know the better how to set a true Value upon the present Set of Ministers, who are tainted with none of these Corruptions.





SATURDAY, April 5, 1729. .

IT is an old Observation that has been made upon the *English*, that they are *excellent Improvers*, but that they yield to other Nations in the Merit of *Invention*: Perhaps this may be true, in Respect to Arts and Sciences; but I believe, in Regard to *Commerce*, it will appear otherwise; and there are several Branches of Trade which were first discover'd and carried on by the *English*, tho' the Profit might be afterwards run away with by other Nations.

I am led into this Reflection, by a Pamphlet, intitled, *Remarks upon Trade*, which I find was first printed in *Dublin*, but is now re-printed here, from which I shall draw some general, but very useful Observations upon the Nature of Commerce; a Subject which either nearly, or remotely concerns every individual Member of the Commonwealth.

Nothing can be more dangerous to our Security, than a false Notion of Prosperity; and as there is of late a very sensible Decay felt in the Trade of this Nation, the perswading us against Demonstration that we do not feel it, cannot be with a Design of remedying the Evil. — The Author, whom I am about to quote, seems to have honest Views; he is for exhorting People to preserve, or rather *recover* their Trade, by shewing the Dangers it may be subject to, and how easily it may be lost, without Industry, and good Con-

Conduct, in the governing Part of the People; and thus he has done, by producing Examples of what has happen'd at other Times: Here are his Words.

‘ Nothing in Appearance could be more fortunate to the Trade of *England*, than the Discovery of the Port of *Archangel* on the *White Sea*, and the many Encouragements which our Merchants at their first coming thither receiv'd from the *Czar* to settle their Commerce with that Town: The Passage to it was incumber'd with none of those Difficulties which is generally met with in Voyages up the *Baltick*, and its Situation so near the River *Duna*, made the Commodities of the *Russian* Empire come so much cheaper to Market, than they formerly did by *Revel* and *Nerva*, that the entire Trade of that great Country was all at once devolv'd upon us; but that indefatigable Assiduity of the Dutch soon led them our Way, and by underselling us in almost all the Wants of that Country, they quickly got themselves into our Place in the *Czar's* Favour, and furnish'd all the rest of *Europe* with the Produce of *Russia*, so much cheaper than we cou'd afford them, that our Trade to those Parts fell greatly to Decay, and wou'd entirely have been lost, had it not been for the Native Commodities of *England*, and its Dependancies which they require, and can be furnish'd with no Way but thro' our Hands.

‘ The Fisheries of *Greenland* and *Newfoundland* were also first discover'd by Us; we were in sole Possession of them, and claim'd a Right to monopolize those Seas, and their Produce; — but the *Dutch*, the *Hamburgers*, and the *French*, what by *Fraud*, what by *Connivance*, and what under Colour of Right to the open and free Seas, fol-

' follow'd our Example; and notwithstanding the
 ' several Encouragements which we from Time
 ' to Time gave by Acts of Parliament, and other-
 ' wise, to the Natives of *England*, to prosecute
 ' that gainful Business, we were however so unfor-
 ' tunate, to see it taken out of our Hands, and to
 ' be underfold by all the World in the Produce
 ' thereof.

' The Trade to the Coast of *Africk* we were very
 ' early in the Possession of; and many *Charters*
 ' were granted, and at last an Act of Parliament
 ' pass'd for the Encouragement of those, who from
 ' Time to Time undertook it; — but the *Dutch*,
 ' the *Hamburgers*, the *French*, and the *Danes*, have
 ' encroach'd upon our Settlements and Trade in
 ' those Parts, and furnish all Nations of the World
 ' (which are not by their Dependancies upon *Eng-*
 ' *land* confined to take them from Us alone) with
 ' Elephants Teeth, Wax, Gum, Dying-Stuffs, Ne-
 ' groes, &c. cheaper than we can afford them.

' We were the first of any Nation this side the
 ' Streights, that traded to *Turky*; and we had Lei-
 ' sure enough to establish ourselves in that Com-
 ' merce, for we were not follow'd by the *Dutch*
 ' (who have endeavour'd to ferret us out of every
 ' Thing) till thirteen Years after, nor by the
 ' *French*, till yet a longer Time; and yet their
 ' Success has been so much greater than ours,
 ' that at present all the Advantages we reap from
 ' that Business, is the saving only on the Article of
 ' our Home Consumption, of Silk Manufactures;
 ' for the *Dutch*, the *French*, and the *Italians*, un-
 ' derfell us at all Foreign Markets, and leave us
 ' no room to gain by Re-exportation of *Levant*
 ' Commodities.

' Many other Instances might be given of the
 ' great Decay of our Trade, and of the Disadvan-
 ' tages under which we lie, whenever we come to

‘ dispute that Point with Strangers : But alas ! what
 ‘ need of particular Instances : For, in short, the
 ‘ *French* and *Dutch* undersell us in the Produce of
 ‘ any Countries, to which they can resort upon the
 ‘ Level with us.

‘ But indeed the Crown of *England* has depend-
 ‘ ing upon it several Kingdoms, Plantations, and
 ‘ Settlements in *Europe*, *Asia*, *Africa*, and *America*,
 ‘ which abound with Commodities much sought
 ‘ after, and to be had no Way but thro’ our Hands.
 ‘ We are stor’d at Home with a great natural Wealth,
 ‘ and our Home Consumption of Foreign Commodi-
 ‘ ties is so defended by our naval and commercial
 ‘ Laws, that we can import for our own Use, and
 ‘ export our own Growth, perhaps cheaper than any
 ‘ other Nation can for us.

‘ These Regulations confine all Navigation to and
 ‘ from *England*; and its Dependancies to our own
 ‘ Hands, furnish our Shipping with constant Empl-
 ‘ ment, and make our Navigation seem to flourish.

‘ But whenever we dip into any Branch of Trade,
 ‘ that can be undertaken upon the Level with us by
 ‘ other Countries, we generally, if not always,
 ‘ prove unsuccessful.

‘ Let it therefore be consider’d whether this be
 ‘ not a sure Symptom of a *lurking Disease*, which
 ‘ may in Time, bring on the Dissolution even of
 ‘ that Trade that is left : It is therefore high Time
 ‘ to enquire what the Cause thereof may be, that
 ‘ we may apply such Remedies as may be most like-
 ‘ ly to remove it.

‘ Every Country, and every Individual of a
 ‘ Country, will always buy their Necessaries from
 ‘ those who afford them the best, and the cheapest ;
 ‘ so that whoever can sell the best Pennyworths at
 ‘ Foreign Markets, must necessarily engross to them-
 ‘ selves all those Branches of Trade, which they
 ‘ are so enabled to maintain ; but the several Ex-
 ‘ gences

agencies of our State (arising from a general Benevolence to Mankind, which would not let us sit tamely by, whilst the Liberty of our Neighbours was invaded) have from Time to Time call'd out for greater Sums of Money than our *Parliaments* were willing, or perhaps able, to give within the Year: This brought about *Loans* and *Debts*, and these Taxes upon all the Consumption of the People, whereby they were laid under a Necessity to exact greater Prices, for Art and Labour, in order to purchase for themselves the common Necessaries of Life, *inanced as they are by Taxes*; and this sudden Rise in the Price of Art and Labour, has made the working up of all our Manufactures vastly more expensive, than those of any other Country in *Europe*.

There are several Accidents which endear a Commodity to the Merchant, besides the first Cost thereof: Every Alteration of the *Primum* is at the Expence of Art and Labour: Every Removal of it from Place to Place, is at the same Expence, and these travel with the Commodity thro' all its Modifications and Voyages, till they light at last upon the Consumer.

But the Wealth and Luxury of some Countries, and the Poverty or Frugality of others, render the Means of these Alterations and Removals, different in Value.—Where the Necessaries of Life are cheap, there also Labour and Art will be cheap; and where they are dear, there also Labour and Art will be dear; for the Artizans and the Labourers must every where have as much for their Hire as will maintain them. Wherefore; when a dear, and cheap working People, undertake each of them the same Business, the Manufactures of the one go to Market clog'd with a less Expence than those of the other, and can therefore be afforded at a less Price; and this is

the Reason why *Holland, France, and Italy*, importing raw Silks from the *Indies*, and from *Turkey*, can undersell us in the Manufactures thereof, tho' the first Cost of the *Primum* be the same to all. But there are several Branches of Trade that depend upon buying the Manufactures and Growth of one Country, and selling the same, in the same Form to another; these suffer no Alterations, and yet tho' we buy them in the Place of their Growth and Production, on a Level with the *Dutch*, yet they afford them cheaper in any Part of the World than we (*England* and its Dependances excepted, where they are encumber'd by the Navigation Act.) Here the Carriage of the Goods is the only Thing that intervenes betwixt the Purchase and the Sale; wherefore we may reasonably conclude, that our chief Disadvantage in this Business, must lie in the Navigation; and this will more plainly appear, if we consider the Nature of Navigation itself, and the Means by which it is executed.

In the first Place, a Ship consists of many different Materials, some of which are of our own Growth, and some not; but they are all of them, however, to be purchased by the particular Trader, and his first Cost, whether dear or cheap, travels with his Ship, as a Weight upon all Commodities exported, or imported in her.

In the second Place, all these *Primums* of Navigation must be wrought up and put together by the Craft and Labour of Men, which differ in Value, according to the Country, wherein the Work is executed; and according to the Assiduity and Application of those employ'd in it; insomuch that where Work is dear, and where the Luxury and Indolence of the People renders them indolent and slow to work, the Building and fitting out a Ship must necessarily require a greater Sum of Money,

Money, than in a Country, where the People are accustomed to Frugality, and where Necessaries of Life are cheap; and this Difference of Expence is another Burden upon the Ship, and the Goods carried in her.

But when all this is done, there must be provided Victualling for the Voyage, and Sailors to navigate the Vessel, and this creates another Expence, differing also according to the Dearness or Cheapness of the Place, where the Ship is victual'd and man'd: And this difference also attends her in all the Voyages she performs, and is a Clog upon all Merchandizes carried in her; nor do they affect only those ordinarily traded withal, but even the *Primates* of our Navigation themselves, such of them especially as we are obliged to import, either from our own Dependencies, or foreign Countries.

This being the Nature of Navigation, it follows, that as it is in a particular Manner influenced by the Price of Labour and Art, so it must be greatly dearer to us, whose Industry is *incumber'd* with so many Taxes, than to our Neighbours, who are so much easier in their Circumstances.

I believe, by what is here advanc'd by our Author, it will be concluded, that nothing can be so fatal to this Nation, as an ignorant, profuse Administration: Vain Projects, expensive Alliances, or *Briberies*, must be supported by great Taxes, and great Taxes, if long continued, must as certainly sink the Trade of any Nation: But we shall say more upon this Subject upon some other Occasion.





SATURDAY, May 3, 1729.

S I R,



THE Love of my Country, a sincere Concern for its Safety, Honour and Interest are the best Reasons I can give for offering the following Harangue to your Readers. And if the same Blood runs in your Veins as in those of your great Predecessor, if the same Principles of Honesty animate your Breast, as did that of my deceased Friend, I flatter myself, I need not make any other Apology for the Trouble I give you. With Respect to myself, I have other Reasons for offering my Thoughts to the Publick in this Manner. Till Faction and Party prevail'd, and * were made almost sole Disposers of Elections, I had the Honour to be one of the Representatives of a considerable County, and a Power of delivering my Opinion directly in that August Assembly.

While I enjoy'd that Honour I had no sinister Ends to serve, no mean Arts in view, no Thoughts but such as were calculated for the publick Good; having never learnt to hackney out my Voice to some GREAT MAN to varnish CRIMES, or puzzle the TRUTH for a PENSION or PLACE, being able to pay my own BILLS, and not startled at the Mention of a JAIL; I sat down, &c.

In short, as I have no right to speak as a Member

* I suppose the Author means Merit, for there was the Letter M in that Place

of

of Parliament, I beg leave to present you with what from *Salust* and other *Roman* Authors, we may reasonably guess that *Cato Uticensis* would probably have spoke, had the Subject been *Gibraltar*, &c. instead of *Cataline's Conspiracy*, and the Scene the *British Curia* instead of the *Roman*.

GENTLEMEN, The injuries of our *Citizens*, the Cries of our *Merchants*, the Ruin of a vast Number of Families, the Insolence, Pride, Cruelty and Depredations, of a well known Enemy, have summon'd us together.—— The Interest, Glory and Support of our Nation is at Stake, the Honour of our S—— is call'd in Question, and our Rights and Possessions, which cost an immense Quantity of *British* Blood and Treasure, which were won by the Law of Arms, and confirm'd to us by the most solemn Treaties, are openly attack'd: Those who have the Honour of their Country at Heart, will, I doubt not, call forth all their Resolution, and put on all their Power to oppose so dangerous an Attempt.—— To them *Cato* needs not speak: But to you he appeals (if such *Monsters* lurk in *this venerable Place*) that prefer your private Happiness to that of your Country; by what Name shall I call you? *Cato* knows none black enough for him that dares be a *Villain* to his Country. *Knaves* prey upon the Heart, and *Leeches* suck the vital Stream; Hunger is the Cause, and when they are full they fall off. Not so with them who owe their *Greatness* to their *Country's* Ruin; they prey upon their *Mother* that brought them forth, their *Nurse* that fed them, and the fuller they are, the more greedily they devour. Such, I hope, are not to be found amongst Us. If there be, let me argue with yourselves; Do ye seek to enjoy your *Plunders*? Do ye hope to reap the Fruits of those immense Treasures ye have heaped together? Know then, that the Happiness of every INDIVIDUAL is

so

‘ you act, so much the sooner will our Enemies
 ‘ Fury be abated. But if they discover you to be
 ‘ Lazy, they will urge their Demands with re-
 ‘ doubled Fury. Be bold, deserve your Possessi-
 ‘ ons, every true *Briton* will join his Assistance;
 ‘ the Justice of our Cause shall give our Swords an
 ‘ Edge, shall string each Soldier’s Arm, our Lyons
 ‘ shall roar more terrible, *Spain* shall tremble, and
 ‘ Conquest shall confirm us in what we possess.

Mr. FOG,

I beg Leave to obviate an Objection or two that
 some Persons may make. The vigorous Proceed-
 ings of the two Houses have rendered such an Ora-
 tion useless. I answer, the various Reports that
 fly thro’ the Country about it, are a sufficient
 Excuse; and a Matter of such Importance, that
 attracts the Eyes of all *Europe*, cannot be too often
 touch’d upon. Others perhaps may say, I have
 introduc’d a Man of the strictest Republican Prin-
 ciples, talking like a Subject; I have avoided that
 as much as I could. Others may say, I have not
 follow’d Nature, in making *Cato*, a Whig, talk for
 the good of his Country: I answer, if he was a
 Whig; our modern ones are nothing a-kin to him.

I am, yours, &c.

T. B.



SATUR-



SATURDAY, May 10, 1729.



He lately gave our Readers the Thoughts of a modern Author upon the Subject of Trade, in which, we conceive, the several Causes of its Decay were plainly demonstrated, and proved to be such as may happen to any Nation, where the political Government is not successfully and honourably administered.

Therefore when the Flatterers of Men in Power pretend to tell us that our Trade cannot sink, it is plain they don't know what they say; it has been sometimes possess'd, and sometimes lost, by every Country of *Europe*, according as good or bad Government prevail'd amongst them; and some who enjoy'd it in its largest Extent, have now scarce any Part of it left amongst them; as the Author of the Tracts concerning the present State of *Ireland*, whom we quoted, has very well observ'd; who tells us, — 'That if we pursue Trade thro' all the various Turns that it has taken from Time to Time, we shall find it rendering those People great and considerable, who before it smil'd upon them, were weak, and of little Notice in the World; and striking a Terror into the rest of the World, whenever it added itself to a State already great and powerful.

'Trade, which, through the perpetual Wars and Calamities that attended the Dissolution of the *Roman* Empire, was almost lost in the World, began to revive again among the *Italians* in the eleventh

eleventh Century; and divided, as they were, into several petty Principalities and Commonwealths, we shall find them, however, grow very considerable in General, from their Acquisitions in Trade, and even courted by the Contenders for the Empire; tho' they themselves were of no Capacity, by Reason of their inward Divisions, and the little native Power which they respectively possess'd, to invade the general Liberty.

In the twelfth Century, another trading People began to appear in the World, by the Name of the *O Easterlings*; these were the Inhabitants of several little Maritime Towns in Germany, who, to defend themselves against the frequent Piracies, with which the Northern Seas were then infested, associated themselves together, and in that Situation became so considerable, that they continued to the latter End of the fifteenth Century, the sole Arbiters of Peace and War in the North, and were, indeed, greatly consider'd by all the Princes and States in Europe, tho' their remote Situation and divided Interests, render'd them but little formidable to the Liberty of the World.

But about the latter End of the fifteenth Century, the Trade of the World suffer'd a greater Revolution than perhaps it ever had done before, and that Part hereof which was added to the Power of Spain, made all Europe tremble.

The Portuguese about this Time found out a Way to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope, and made Lisbon the Staple of all those Eastern Commodities, which the hither World was formerly supply'd with thro' the Ports of the Mediterranean.

The New World was discover'd by the Spaniards under Ferdinand, and Gold and Silver, which till then was only to be acquired by long and painful

' painful Applications to Industry, came in Ship-
 ' loads, from the conquer'd Kingdoms of *Peru* and
 ' *Mexico*, into *Spain*; and in the Year fifteen hun-
 ' dred, the *Hans-Towns* or *O.Easterlings*, thro' exces-
 ' sive Riches, Carelessness, and Divisions amongst
 ' themselves, gave the *English* and *Dutch* an Oppor-
 ' tunity to furnish the World with those Commodi-
 ' ties, which before only came thro' their Hands;
 ' and here it may not be amiss to observe, that so
 ' sudden was their Fall, who for upwards of two
 ' hundred Years had ingross'd all the Trade of the
 ' World to themselves, that in the Year fifteen
 ' Hundred and six, they had scarce any Business
 ' at all.

' A surprizing Instance of the speedy Departure of
 ' Trade from those who have once pass'd the Summit of
 ' good Fortune.

' So Considerable an Addition was made to the
 ' Power of *Spain*, by the Trade of the *Galleons* to
 ' *America*, that it chang'd the Face of Affairs in
 ' all *Europe*; for *Charles the Fifth*, with all those
 ' Treasures at his Command, found it easy to be
 ' elected to the Empire of *Germany*, by which he
 ' was made at once a great Over-balance for the
 ' rest of *Europe*; and had not a great many Things
 ' conspired to rescue Mankind from such an imme-
 ' diate Growth of Power, it is much to be doubted,
 ' whether all those Alliances which were form'd
 ' against him by his Contemporaries, who were a
 ' wise and warlike Set of Princes, could ever
 ' have kept him within Bounds.

' But this great Increase of Power, by the Trade
 ' of *America*, added to the great Territories of *Spain*,
 ' did not long frighten the World; for in a little
 ' Time after the *Spaniards* grew into such a Disuse
 ' of all Kinds of Industry and Manufacture, that they
 ' were under a Necessity of sending out the Wealth
 ' of the *Indies*, as fast as it came in.

All this Decay of the *Spanish* Monarchy, might be easily proved to proceed from the bad Administration of her Civil Government; but this perhaps we may treat of upon some other Occasion.

Let it be only observ'd, how often Trade has risen and fall'n; how often it has shifted its Quarters, and chang'd its Climate, and how precarious a Title does bare Possession give to a Thing, which is held by no other *Tenure*, than that of Industry and good Government.

And now we are upon this Subject, it will be necessary to be a little particular upon the Conduct of the *Dutch*, who for about a Century have got the Start of the whole World, in the Business of Trade and Navigation.

In pursuing this Subject, we shall find them sometimes advancing themselves by Parsimony and Industry, and at other Times, by Incroachments, Violences, and other Methods, no Way justifiable by the Laws of Nations.

I shall say but little of their Usage towards the *English* in particular, and of the Means by which they engross'd the whole *Spice Trade* to themselves; the Affair of *Amboyna* is but too well known, and perhaps it is better it should be quite forgot, since no Satisfaction is ever like to be made for it.

But it is remarkable enough, that almost all those great Settlements which they are now Masters of in both *Indies*, as well as on the Coasts of *Africa*, formerly belong'd to the *Portuguese*, and were taken from them by the *Dutch*, without any Cause of Quarrel, at a Time when that People were dispirited, and had lost their Resolution by the Oppressions of the *Spaniards*, and were in no Condition to defend themselves.

Even Fortune itself seem'd to favour the Growth and Increase of *Holland*, by a Concurrence of several favourable Circumstances; and the Author of
a late

a late Pamphlet, call'd *Seasonable Remarks upon Trade*, says 'that tho' the *Dutch* had in their Infancy several Difficulties to struggle with, yet on the other Hand, so many Things conspired to raise their Power, that in a short Time they surmounted them all.

'The Misfortunes of *Portugal*, the Severities of the Inquisition throughout all the Dominions of *Spain*, the Persecution in *France*, and the Troubles in *England*, all happening at, or very near, the same Time, made *Holland* (as it were) an Asylum for all the Trading and Rich People in *Europe*. They proceeded intent upon Trade only, engag'd in no Wars this Side of the World, but such as were for their Preservation, and even those within their own Country; which were therefore to them rather an Inlet than a Drain of Treasure — They kept the Consumption of their Poor free from exorbitant Taxes, at a Time when their Neighbours were under heavy Debts; and by this Means continued the Price of Labour at a moderate Pitch. — But above all *Oeconomy* and *Temperance* were the usual Recommendations to Places of Trust and Power in the State — This begot an universal Parsimony in the People, and suspended for a Season, those Evils which sometimes grow from excessive Riches, and which some of their Neighbours already began to feel in an encreasing Luxury and Profusion.

'All these Accidents, and precedent Councils (I say) have advanced them to a higher Station in Trade, than any other People; and (little as their Country is) if they have not excluded their Dominions in *Europe*, it seems to be not from any want of Power, but from a Defect in their Constitution, which is fitted rather for Preservation than Conquest; since one Negative Voice, a Thing not hard to be purchased amongst a People,

ple, who are rather studious of Wealth than of Glory, is able to overthrow the best concerted and most prosperous Enterprize.

But the Parsimony, and other Domestick Virtues of the *Dutch*, by which they were so long enabled to transact almost all the Trade of the World, have within a few Years greatly given Way to Expence and Figure. — They have already a Taste, for those Follies which the World is pleas'd to call by the Name of *Elegant Living*, as well as for sumptuous Equipages; and they can indulge themselves in *Rice* and *Luxury*, without becoming odious to their Fellow Citizens. — And whenever they arrive to such a Pitch, that Oeconomy and Temperance shall no longer be the Recommendations necessary to qualify a Man for Places of Trust and Power in the State; — When the ambitious in the State shall find out some agreeable Way to Popularity by Expence and Profusion; and when the People begin to have a Taste and Relish for the Sweets of such Engagements; the States of *Holland* (perhaps in as short a Time as the *Hans-Towns*) will cease to be *high* and *mighty*, their Power at Sea will devolve upon some other People, and they may chance to be reduced to their primitive Fishing-Boats again.

The Symptoms of this Decay are already upon them: It is therefore highly proper for us to think of Means, whereby to prevent so great an Addition as their Loss of Trade would make to the Strength of any other State already considerable in *Europe*, lest such an Union of Power and Riches might in Time prove dangerous, not to *ours alone*, but to the Liberty of the World in General.

'Tis plain, that upon our own Bottoms, we are unequal to the Undertaking; our Condition is already what that of *Holland* is about to be; our Luxury

' Luxury devours more than our Industry can provide: And the Expence of Manufactures, by means of our Taxes, grows greater than any Price we can expect for the Produce of them abroad.

Thus ~~for~~ our Author: — Who after making these just Remarks, proposes some Expedients to remedy these Defects. — The Chief of which is, to establish Manufactures, and encourage Navigation from those Parts of the *British* Dominions, where all the Necessaries of Life are to be purchased at a very low Price; and he thinks the Kingdom of *Ireland* very happily situated for that Purpose; and without some such Expedient, he thinks we cannot carry our Manufactures abroad upon the foot of other Nations.

It is no Doubt, that as we possess so many Islands in *America*; as well as Provinces upon the Continent in that *New World*, that a very beneficial Trade may still be carry'd on betwixt Subject and Subject, and which will support our Navigation; provided the Inhabitants of those Parts should not be put out of Humour by rapacious and tyrannical Governors, which may render them less industrious, and make them even wish for a Change: But I am still in Doubt, whether, if we should lose upon the Balance of Trade with Foreigners, whether the Profits by our Navigation to our own Plantations, will bring us in as much as our Luxury will carry out.

We now feel the Benefits of the Navigation Act, without which (considering what Changes have been in the Affairs of *Europe* since it was made) we must have sunk; yet I have never heard the Authors and Promoters of it thank'd by the Writers of our Times; but perhaps they think there is nothing to be got by expressing any Gratitude for the Advantages derived to us from the Reigns of either of the Sons of the Royal Martyr. — This

Act was made in the Reign of King Charles the Second, by which no Foreigner can come at the Product of any of our Plantations; or even of our own Manufactures, except by *English Bottoms*; an Act, perhaps, not extremely agreeable to the *French or Dutch*, but the Support of *England*; and such a one as could not have pass'd, if *Great Britain* had been influenc'd by *Foreign Councils*.



SATURDAY, May 17, 1729.



It is look'd upon by Men of Sense, to be one of the most ridiculous Prejudices of Party, to extol Persons in great Employments, for such Qualifications as are look'd upon with no Esteem, when possess'd by Men in private Life. — How often have I heard a certain Person in great Power cry'd up for a *Machiavel*, because he was acquainted with the *Book*, or common Form of Business in the *Treasury*; which a Carrier's Horse would have understood in half the Time he had been in it; and, whenever any thing has been named in Company concerning *Taxes*, or the *Revenues*, if any of his Flatterers have been present, they have quoted him as a *Nonpareil*, for being Master of that profound Science, that *two and three made five*.

The Word *TREASURY* (it must be confess'd) is a very big Word, it carries Power in the very Sound of it; and therefore, *these wise Men of Gotham*, wou'd persuade us, that whoever bears a Sway there, must, of Consequence, be endu'd with a Skill and

and Knowledge superior to other Men; whereas we of middling Understandings know very well, that a Boy, with common Arithmetick, being a little vers'd in the Forms (provided he had common Honesty) might acquit himself at the Head of a *Treasury*, to the Satisfaction of a Nation.

If we consult History, and examine all the Governments that ever have been in the World, or if we look into the different Commonwealths now subsisting, we shall find, that the Business of receiving and dispersing the Revenues, has ever been regarded as a Matter of no Science, and has been thought to require as little Understanding, as any the most ordinary Avocation of human Life.

In the *Ottoman* Government, the Prime *Vizier*, who is generally a military Man, manages the Negotiations of Peace, as well as commands in the War; besides which, he executes the Affairs of the Revenues for a Country about twelve Times the Extent of *Great Britain*; all this he performs by the Means of Seventy Receivers, who account once in three Months with the Receiver-General at *Constantinople*, and he, one Day in a Week, makes up his Accounts with the Prime *Vizier*; and tho' these Revenues must be much larger than those of *Great Britain*, it does not cost the Government a fourth Part so much in collecting them, which is a great Advantage to the People; but if a Man there was to extol one of these Ministers for his prodigious Skill in the Revenues, it wou'd be look'd upon as great a Jest, as it wou'd amongst us to proclaim a Man a Conjurer, because he cou'd read and write his Mother Tongue.

But this Humour of attributing all the Wisdom in the Nation to the Men who have the *fingering* of the *Publick Money*, has prevail'd in other Countries as well as with us. — In the Beginning of the Reign of *Harry the Fourth of France*, the People being

being oppress'd with the Weight of their Taxes, grew very uneasy, so that a Rebellion was apprehended, and it was expected it wou'd first break out in *Britanny*. Upon which Occasion the King consulted the Duke of *Sully*, a brave Officer, and a Man of unblemish'd Honour; but so little vers'd in Affairs relating to the Finances, that he knew nothing of Accounts, and cou'd scarce write. However, the King desir'd to know his Opinion, what was best to be done, in case the *Britons* should rise: The Duke answer'd him very frankly, that his Advice was, to publish his Edict for pardoning the People; and if it was necessary that some-body must suffer for a Rebellion, that his Majesty wou'd be graciously pleas'd to hang up two or three of his Ministers, and he wou'd engage his Life, that the People wou'd submit, without the Appearance of Troops to be sent against them.

There was something very honest, as well as brave, in speaking so freely of Men, who were actually at that Time in the Cabinet-Council of the King. He told him further, that bad Government wou'd always make People uneasy, and that they wou'd not only murmur, but if they had Spirit, wou'd endeavour to redress themselves by a strong Hand, when they found Complaints had no Effect; and without that Spirit, they wou'd neither defend his Majesty nor their Country from foreign Enemies: ——— It seems to me (added he) ' That some of your Ministers have long been in a Plot to ruin your Kingdom; for first, they are continually advising new Taxes to be levied upon the People, and then their Manner of raising them is intolerable; by the first the Country is so impoverish'd, that great Numbers in a short Time, will be quite disabled from paying, and by the *Bribes* and *Pensions* that they give, and the Number of Officers employ'd in collecting, the great-

' greatest Part of what is thus squeez'd from the
' People, is dissipated, and never comes into your
' Majesty's Coffers. It is true, I have never made
' these Affairs my Study ; but as your Majesty's Ser-
' vice has often sent me into the remotest Parts of
' the Kingdom, I have seen nothing but the Mife-
' ries proceeding from the Councils of these pre-
' tended *Expert Men* ; and by conversing with the
' Gentlemen in the Provinces, I have learn'd, that
' the Remedy to these Mischiefs is so plain and
' easy, that I could point it out to your Majesty in
' a Quarter of an Hour.'

The King being convinc'd of the Duke of Sully's
Sincerity, enter'd into an Examination of this
Affair, and saw plainly, that all the Mischiefs fal-
len upon the Kingdom, proceeded from these great
Men, who were so *expert* in the Revenues. — In a
little Time he communicated the Duke's Scheme to
his Council, without telling them from whom he
had it, demanding their Opinion ; — Such of
them as were concern'd in the Finances, condemn'd
it ; telling his Majesty, they must be Fools who put
such Things into his Head. — The King answer'd
with that Readiness of Wit which accompany'd
him upon all Occasions, ' That since they who were
' wise Men, had by their great Skill and Know-
' ledge reduced the People to such miserable Cir-
' cumstances, he was resolv'd to try what others
' by their Ignorance and Folly cou'd do to mend
' Matters.'

In fine, without more ado, he committed the
Direction of the Finances solely to the Duke of
Sully, to the great Mortification of our *expert Men*,
or as the modern Phrase is, our *clever Men*. They,
and their disappointed Flatterers, sincer'd openly,
and said, there must be fine Work when People
were employ'd that were Strangers to the Business
of the *Treasury* : — But what was the Consequence
of

of this Step? He first dismiss'd above half the Commissioners and inferior Tax-Gatherers, by which an immense Sum was saved yearly to the State; and by these and other Regulations, in the Space of Ten Years, he paid off the Sum of two hundred Millions of Livres, which the Nation ow'd; and when the King died, there were thirty Millions of Livres found in the *Treasury*, and not a Shilling due from the State, either to Subject or Foreigner.

What is most wonderful, is, that all this was done in Time of War, which some Men will pretend is a very improper Juncture for redressing of Grievances; whereas part of the Debt was contracted by his Predecessors in a Time of Peace, (*which some Men think a very proper Conjunction for creating Grievances.*) It was also brought about without laying on new Tax, and even by remitting Part of what was laid before.

After the Death of *Harry* the Fourth, *Mary de Medicis* listened to the Persuasions of some Persons who wanted to fill their own Pockets at the Expence of the Publick; these insinuated to her, that the Duke of *Sully* was indeed a Man of Honour, but that he had been bred up all his Life in Arms, and was altogether unacquainted with the Nature of those Affairs; and that if the Finances were to be managed by Men who had made such Things their Study, no doubt they must turn to far greater Account.

Now some of our *clever* Men were again brought into Business, and very *cleverly* they manag'd; for in a short Space of Time, they made such gross Misapplications of the publick Money, that the Nation was again run in Debt, and the People into the same Distress and Difficulties, from which the Duke of *Sully* had reliev'd them, and this was likewise brought about in the Time of Peace.

But

But there is one Effect of their Management, in which the Historians have done them Justice, and therefore it ought not to be omitted here; and that is, that they aggrandiz'd themselves and Families, and made such immense Fortunes, that they almost led and govern'd the Country as they pleas'd; which is more than can be said of the Duke of Sully; for which I know some of our expert Men of Business here (that I shall not at present name) will pronounce him a Fool, it being a wise Maxim with them, *That they and their Cubs must fasten upon the People, though the Nation perish by it.*

But these expert Men were so long in Business, that by the Time *Leurs* the Thirteenth grew to the State of Manhood, Affairs were in as bad a Situation, and the People as uneasy as ever; wherefore this Prince consulting *Cardinal Richlieu* (who at this Time was entirely unacquainted with all Business) what was to be done, the Cardinal laid before him the Example of the Duke of Sully, by which he gave him to understand, that there was nothing in the Affairs of the Revenue, but what might be executed by the most inexperienc'd Man in the Kingdom, provided he had an honest Heart and clean Hands.

In due, the Cardinal was prevail'd upon by the King, to take the Finances into his own Management, and without new Schemes or Projects, only treading in the Steps of the Duke of Sully, he doubled the Revenues of *France*, without imposing one new Tax upon the People; and this he brought to pass in the Space of fifteen Years.

We have given the true State of *France* under those expert Men, as we find it in their own Historians; by which it may be seen, that as long as a Nation has the Happiness of being govern'd by Persons of that Character, every Publick Fund will

will be attended with a Deficiency, this Deficiency must be allow'd just by the Application of Bribes, then the Bribery and Deficiency both must be made good by new Taxes upon the People.

But perhaps it may be as great Comfort to a Nation to be ruin'd, by some stupid People, who have had a great deal of Experience in Affairs, as for a Patient to be poison'd by some Ass of a Doctor, who has taken his Degrees regularly.

Upon the whole, it is plain, that the Management of the *Revenues, Taxes, &c.* requires nothing but a little Integrity (which indeed; for ought I know, may be a Qualification hard to be found) but however, it will always appear the Height of Folly to Men of Sense, to hear People tripping as Politicians, for *perplexing and mending* those Affairs, which a Man may succeed in with a very superficial Understanding; and such People too who in Things which demand some Address, discover a most *scandalous Ignorance*, and an *Incapacity* which may prove fatal to their Country.

A pilfering Fellow, with a low mechanick Genius, is as much out of his Element when set to direct the Machine of a State, as a *Phaeton* guiding the Chariot of the Sun, and therefore it is no Wonder if their Conduct is just the same; and when we hear such People extoll'd for their great Parts, we may modestly apply the old *Latin* Proverb, *Ne Sutor ultra Crepidam*; Let them keep to their Pilfering.

But this is a kind of Digression; for our Purpose was to shew by the Example of all the Governments that ever have been in the World, that the Business of a Treasurer (though a great Trust) was never look'd upon to require any thing but a very ordinary Capacity; and therefore it will lead us to wonder, why in *England*, of late Years, Men upon all Events turn their
 Eyes

Eyes upon the Treasury, as if all the Wisdom in the Nation was confined to that Place, let who will preside there : I say, such an Enquiry as this wou'd not be unworthy of the honestest Man in *Great Britain*.

I will only say, that where-ever the *Treasury* has govern'd the Kingdom, the People have always been the Prey of particular Men ; I cannot indeed bring many Examples from *English* History to prove this Truth, because our great Ministers formerly disdain'd the Employment, as something unworthy the Genius of a Statesman : —

But I have produced some Instances from *French* History, and cou'd produce many more. And I remember particularly, in the Reign of *Charles* the Ninth of *France*, the Kingdom suffer'd most severely by the *wicked Influence* which those at the Head of the Finances had in the Councils of the King ; about which Time the Estates of the Kingdom being assembled, it was resolv'd, that the most *just, honourable*, as well as *effectual* Way of restoring the Publick Affairs, wou'd be to confiscate the *Estates* of all those concern'd in the *Treasury*, and leave them as great Beggars as they found them.





SATURDAY, August 9, 1729.

Mr. FOG,



THE Author of a late Pamphlet, intitled, *An Enquiry into the Conduct of Great Britain, &c.* has by a Turn of Reasoning peculiar to himself, endeavour'd to convince the World, that *Spain* labours under the Misfortune of a most ignorant and weak Administration, and to prove it, he speaks *Spanish*, and has quoted a Sentence in their Language to this Effect — *Peace with England, and War with all the World besides.*

He has demonstrated the Silliness of their expecting Reparation for the Loss of their Fleet destroy'd some Years since in the *Mediterranean*, for the Reasons couch'd under that *Spanish* Sentence; and as to their flattering themselves with the Restitution of *Gibraltar*, nothing could be more idle, for he makes no Mention of any Encouragement they could have from hence for such Hopes — It is true, indeed, in his *Second Pamphlet*, which he calls his Justification, he speaks of a *Letter*, and a *Promise*, but yet he insinuates that they are not to be call'd *Letters* or *Promises*; in handling which Point, he shews such a Regard to Veracity and Publick Faith, that he even disproves the old Proverb, which says, that *He who conceals half the Truth, tells a whole Lie.*

I make no Doubt but he has open'd Men's Eyes in Respect to his own Sincerity, as well as satisfy'd the

the World in the Wisdom of those Measures by which our Affairs have been long conducted ; but yet he will give me Leave to mention an *English* Proverb, which I can't help thinking he must have heard before he learned *Spanish*, and that is, *Peace with Spain, and War with all the World besides*. I am the fonder of it, because I find it is the general Opinion of our Merchants, that *Spain* may subsist without the Manufactures of *Great Britain*, as well as *Great Britain* without the Gold and Silver of *Spain* ; and therefore I hope I shall not be counted a bad Subject if I declare, that I wish for a firm and lasting Peace with *Spain*, rather than with any other Power in *Europe* (not excepting *France* itself ;) for I find, that if our Accounts from *Cadix*, for a Year or two past, be true, *France* has so far profited by the ill Humour of the *Spaniards* towards us, that their Flota's for *New Spain* have been loaded for the most Part with *French* Manufactures.

It may seem strange to some, that the same ill Humour should not shew itself towards *France*, since they are Parties in the same Alliance ; but it may be observ'd, that in all Alliances, tho' the general Tranquillity, and the common Good of all the Parties concern'd, are the Pretences on which they engage, yet if a particular Interest interferes, it is seldom neglected by that Power which is to profit by it—I do not mention this to reflect on the present Conduct of *France*. It is well known, that in the late War, the *Dutch* carried on a separate Trade with *France*, not very consistent with the Terms of the Grand Alliance, because they found it for their private Advantage ; and tho' the common Enemy was strengthened thereby, yet the private Benefit accruing from it to the *States*, outweigh'd that Consideration.

Sometimes Alliances may be form'd betwixt Powers whose Interests are inconsistent with each other, and this may be done where one Party may have Views thereby, of drawing the other into such Distresses, as could not be effected by open Force.

Monsieur Colbert, a great Minister in the Beginning of the Reign of *Lewis the Fourteenth*, in a Book address'd to the King, which was not publish'd till after the Author's Death, has made political Remarks upon all the Measures of that Prince's Reign, to the Author's Death, in which may be read the following Reflections :

About this Time the Rebels of *England* having prevail'd over their unfortunate King, and taken him Prisoner, executed him upon a Scaffold like a common Criminal, and compell'd the whole Royal Family to fly for Refuge to Foreign Countries ; they also set up a Form of Government, till then unknown in that Country, yet your Majesty thought fit to acknowledge this new Government, the Members of which were lately drawn from the vilest of the People. This you did, notwithstanding your Nearness of Blood to that lawful Heir, the Justice of his Cause, and the Compassion which you had for him ; and in thus sacrificing your own Inclination to the Interests of your State, you acted like the Father of your People ; for by entering into an Alliance with that new Republick, and agreeing to banish their lawful Prince out of your Dominions, you gain'd vast Advantages to *France* ; you divided *England* and *Spain*, whose mutual Interest it is to keep upon good Terms with each other ; you even made Use of the Strength of *England* to distress *Spain*, by which Means you had Time to quell those Commotions within, which were raised by the

Am-

' Ambition of the Princes of your Blood, and even
' made considerable Conquests upon *Spain*. If you
' had not found these Means of diverting that new
' Republick from pursuing the true Interests, of
' *England*, they would have join'd with *Spain*, which
' must have kept *France* low and miserable, if not
' quite have ruined her; so that by this fine Turn
' of Policy, you laid the Foundation of that Great-
' ness, which at present, *Spain* and *England* (be they
' never so firmly united) are not able to shake.

' In the War betwixt the two Republicks of *Eng-
land* and *Holland*, your Majesty offer'd your Me-
' diation towards making an Accommodation be-
' twixt them, but not till your Majesty saw that it
' would be done without you, by which you brought
' both those States, in some Measure depending up-
' on you, and diverted the *English* from forming
' any Designs against your Power, which was now
' but growing.

' About six Years after the Restoration of the
' King of *England*, when your Strength was great-
' ly increased, a War breaking out betwixt *Eng-
land* and *Holland*, your Majesty thought fit to en-
' ter into an Alliance Offensive and Defensive with
' the *Dutch*, at the very Time that your Majesty
' had form'd a Scheme for the Conquest of *Holland*;
' of Consequence the Succours which you afforded
' them, bore no Proportion to their Expectations,
' nor to what it was thought convenient to flatter
' them with: It is true, this Alliance did not last
' long, nor did your Majesty expect it wou'd, for
' the *Dutch* began to be alarmed at your Majesty's
' great Power so near them, yet it answer'd your
' Purpose; for by these Means your Majesty came
' to be acquainted with every Thing that pass'd in
' their Councils, which was of infinite Use to you
' in the Measures you were forming to destroy their
' State; and so far had you work'd yourself into

' this Affair, that the Quarrel could not be made
 ' up without your Majesty's Interposition, which,
 ' alone, is a great Advantage to a Prince who has Skill
 ' enough to make a proper Use of it — You thought fit,
 ' indeed, to fit out a considerable Naval Armament,
 ' which frighten'd your Allies more than the En-
 ' my, but tho' they did the *Dutch* no Service, you
 ' drove the *English* from the Island of *St. Christopher's*,
 ' which was gain'd to *France* thereby. The *Dutch*
 ' indeed thought it high Time to solicit for Peace,
 ' and an Accident happen'd at *London*, which dis-
 ' posed the *English* Court to listen to the Proposals
 ' of *Holland*, and to grant them better Terms than
 ' they had Reason to expect, and this was the dread-
 ' ful Fire, which consum'd almost the whole City,
 ' so that your Majesty did not reap all the Advan-
 ' tages which might have been expected from the
 ' Continuation of this War.'

But some Instances more modern may be produc'd
 of Princes, who have enter'd into Alliances with
 other States, upon no other View, but to weaken
 and destroy them: Such was that of the late Czar
 of *Muscovy* with *Denmark*. This enterprising Prince
 having possess'd himself of *Livonia* and *Ingra*, be-
 came Master of two noted Sea Ports in the *Baltick*;
 it is no Secret now, that he laid Designs of extend-
 ing his Conquests Southward, but there were two
 Maritime Powers in his Way, too Potent for his
 new rais'd Fleet to contend with, these were *Sweden*
 and *Denmark*; the *Dane* guards the Passage of the
 Sound, and may therefore be said to command the
Baltick, and of Consequence the Czar must have
 it in his Heart to destroy him first: But what Me-
 thods did he take for this Purpose? He enters into
 an Alliance with *Denmark* against *Sweden*, by which
 Means he kept those two Powers employ'd in weak-
 ening each other, while he stood by an unconcern'd
 Spectator, insomuch, that the Squadrons of those
 Nations

Nations engag'd each other three Times one Summer, whilst the *Muscovites* had not one Ship amongst them; he was indeed a Party in the Alliance, but never thought of being so in the War; and this will appear by another Circumstance, for on Pretence of making an End of the War at once, he projected with *Denmark* the making a Descent on *Schonen*, and to that Purpose came down the *Baltick* himself, with a Body of 22000 Men on Board, and landed them in *Denmark*, as had been agreed; the King of *Denmark* was also ready, and tho' a Day was fix'd for the Descent, the Czar found Means of delaying it, and so continued to do from Time to Time, that the *Danes* were justly alarm'd, and when he was push'd for an Answer, he took off the Mask, and declar'd there should be no Descent.

Upon this the *Danes* had nothing to do but to strengthen their Posts, and employ their Army to defend themselves against the *Russians*, which was design'd to conquer *Sweden*; and happy enough they thought themselves when they got rid of these dangerous Allies, which was not done till the Country was extreamly harrass'd and impoverish'd, by their living so long upon them.

I could produce some other Examples of Alliances not very different from these, but the Times are so extreamly captious, and the Humours of Party so petulant, that a Man scarce knows what to write.

I will only say, that nothing like this can ever happen to *Great Britain*; for as it is apparently the Interest of *France* and *Holland* to see *England* flourish in Trade, as well as great in Power, our entering into Alliances with those Nations cannot be attended with any Consequences fatal either to Liberty or Commerce.

Your affectionate Kinsman, &c.

SATUR-



SATURDAY, Aug. 16, 1729.



Have observ'd, that in most of the Political Pamphlets which of late Years have come from a certain Party, an extream Rancour every now and then breaks out against the *Royal Family* of the *STUARTS*, as if the Authors thought of making their Court, by abusing and insulting the *Memories* of the *best-natur'd PRINCES* that have set upon any Throne in *Europe*.

I have therefore look'd into History, to examine what kind of Figure this Nation made in the World, under some of those *August PRINCES*, whose Names in our Days are often treated with so much Freedom; and, as the Reign of King *CHARLES* the *SECOND*, is that wherein they pretend there is most Blots to be hit, it will not be amiss to take a View of the *State of our Affairs*, with respect to other *Nations*, under that *Prince*.

It is certain, there will be *Errors* at all Times, and perhaps something in every *Court* which ought to be *corrected*; but there is a wide Difference betwixt *common Frailties*, and such *notorious Corruptions* and *Abuses*, as *distress* the *Subject*, and *weaken*, if not quite *ruin*, the *State* ——— I will therefore own freely, that something of the first might be objected to the Conduct of that *beloved Prince*, and the Extravagances of the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Lord *Rocheſter*, and some others, might with good Reason put virtuous and sober Men some-
times

times out of Humour with the Court : Nay, I will not deny, but that the King himself had an extream Foible for the Fair Sex, but yet he never had a Passion for an *ugly Woman* ; and let it atone for this Frailty, *that the Purfes of his Subjects never paid for it*, and that all his *Generosities* to the Women he lov'd, *brought no Demands upon his People for Deficiencies in his CIVIL LIST.*

If we consider him in the Choice of his *Ministers and Servants*, we shall find the Good Sense for which he was so conspicuous, and his delicate Turn for fine Conversation, directed him to *single out* such *Men* as would have been the *Ornament* of any Court in *Europe* ; for a *stupid dull Ass*, or a *pert Knave*, could have no Chance of being admitted to *spoil the Publick Affairs* in his Time ; and if we consider the *Persons* who fill'd the *Dignities* of the *Church*, we shall find them as famed for *Learning* and *Piety*, as even the present Age can boast ——— The Nation in General enjoy'd a free and open *Trade*, and the People knew no *Taxes*.

But it has been sometimes urg'd, that the Gallantries of the Court in that Reign had a bad Effect upon the Manners of the People, to such a Degree, that the Man who had ruin'd the Reputations of most Women, pass'd for the finest Gentleman : I will not pretend to say that this Charge is altogether groundless, the Prevalence of bad Example, is a Truth too much experienced to be deny'd ; there are great Numbers of *People* who follow *Courts* merely for *Preferment*, and these will imitate those above them in all Things good or bad ; thus when the Court is *learned* and *witty*, such *Men* will apply to *Wit* and *Learning* ; on the contrary, if it be a *rapacious Court*, they will turn their Inventions to *Frauds* and *Tricks*, in order to be taken Notice of, and grow considerable.

Sir

Sir *William Temple* carries this Matter still farther; for he says, 'If Men see that the Way to rise in the State is by Worth and virtuous Qualifications, the Genius of a Nation will run that Way, and produce great and noble Subjects — but if they can hope to do it only by vicious Humours, base Arts, and by the warm Pursuit (right or wrong) every Man of his own private Interest, the whole Spirit of a Nation will by Degrees run into those Courses, and the faster, from the Propension of our Natures more to Evil than to Good.'

Thus in the Reign of King *CHARLES* the SECOND, a Gallantry with the Ladies might do a Man no harm, perhaps he might not be the worse receiv'd in the best Company for it — But *Wit, Learning, a fine Address, and Politeness of Manners*, were necessary Qualifications towards *Preferment*, and the Court of *England* in that Reign, was what the Court of *France* has been ever since, the Place where the Nobility of Foreign Nations resorted for the Improvement of their *Manners*.

But perhaps we may be ask'd, of what Advantage is the Reputation of Civil and good Manners at Home, if the *Interest* of the Nation was not preserv'd in Point of *Trade* Abroad, and its *Honour* maintain'd amongst neighbouring Nations? therefore it is necessary to consider that Point.

We took Notice in our last, that the *Dutch* had the Hardiness to plunder some of our *Ships*, and to encroach upon some *Branches* of our Trade; but the *Cries* of our *Merchants* soon reach'd the KING's *Ears*, and were listen'd to, with that Regard which became a *Prince*, who wou'd justly merit the Title of *Father of his People*; He was not ignorant how dangerous it wou'd be to suffer the Nation to be *insulted*, and the *Merchants* who are
its

its *Support* to be *plunder'd* with *Impunity*; therefore Instructions were sent to the *English Minister* at the *Hague*, to demand Satisfaction for the Affront, and Reparation for the *injur'd Subjects*. The *States* return'd such palliating and evasive Answers, as are common where the Injury is too notorious to be deny'd, and yet where it is secretly approv'd: But our KING was not to be imposed upon by such *Artifices*; He knew the *World* too well, and therefore He gave Orders for a *gallant Fleet* to be fitted out: Then indeed, our *Dutch Neighbours* began to be a little *frighten'd*, and their *Minister* at *London*, had Orders to represent their *Fears*, and to expostulate with his *Majesty* concerning this extraordinary *Armament*; by whom they were told in *plain Terms*, that he thought fit to send out his *Royal Navy*, in order to *vindicate the Honour of the ENGLISH NATION*, to *protect his SUBJECTS upon the Seas*, and to *assert Their Right to an open and free Trade with all the World* — An Answer worthy of a *King*; nor was it an idle Boast to conceal an inward Fear, or a rude Insult to provoke the Resentment of such as had not offended us; it was the Result of good Council, and his *Majesty* made good his *Word* in all *Respects*.

It will not be material here to give a Detail of the War: Let it suffice, that the Valour of the *Duke of York*, afterwards the unfortunate King *James the Second*, gave such an Example to the *English Nobility*, many of whom attended him in this War, that the *English Flag* was every where victorious, and the *Hollanders* were made to repent of their Insults upon us.

But, his *Majesty* seeing the Use that *France* design'd to make of this War, thought fit to enter into a Peace with the *Dutch*, which was done with all Circumstances of Honour to the *English Nation*; as the Injuries which occasion'd it did not proceed

ceed from us, we did not seek Peace by *base and dishonourable Means*, nor did we *run about the World* soliciting this or that *State or Minister*, to intercede and sue to the *Dutch* for us——No, the *Nation's Credit* was kept up, and the *Enemy* were oblig'd to apply and humble themselves to us, and happy they thought themselves to obtain Peace upon *any Terms*.

Thus was the Strength of the Nation employ'd for its *Defence and Glory*; and thus it will be where *Ministers* have such a Knowledge in Affairs, as teaches them to understand the *True Interest* of their own *Country*, and to see into the *Designs and Views* of their *Neighbours*; where they know what is *wise, just, and honourable*, and have *Steadiness and Resolution* enough to go thro' with it: But under *corrupt and ignorant Administrations*, it will be in Vain to boast of the *Strength of powerful Fleets*, and *mighty Armies*; these no doubt are great Advantages where there is *Wisdom and Good Council*, but those wanting, *Wealth and Power* only serve to render a State the more *contemptible*.

It appears to Day, that his *Majesty's Measures* in those critical Circumstances was in all Points answerable to *true Policy*, for had he suffer'd the *Dutch* to have gone on in committing *Depredations* on our *Merchants*, had he permitted that *dangerous Alliance* betwixt *France and Holland* to have taken Effect, from a Fear or Backwardness of engaging in a *War*, it is probable we should not have a *Navy* to defend us, nor a valuable Branch of *Trade* to be afraid of *losing to Day*.

Thus far was the *Interest* as well as *Honour* of the *Nation*, bravely asserted and maintain'd by *War*; Let us now examine whether it suffer'd or gain'd by *Negotiation*. It is well know and allow'd by all *Historians*, that the Conferences at *Aix la Chapelle* were no sooner begun, but his *Majesty's Councils*

Councils had such *Weight*, that he appear'd *Master* of the *Negotiations*, and soon finish'd the *Treaty* to the Satisfaction of his *Subjects*. This was no sooner done, but his *Majesty* thought it highly necessary, for the Preservation of the Tranquility of *Europe*, to disunite *France* and *Holland*, and break off that strict Union which had been subsisted for a considerable Time betwixt them—— Here was a most difficult Point to be gain'd, for many of their great Men had been long devoted to *France*, and particularly *De Wit*, who had no Way of thwarting the Measures of his great Enemy the *Prince of Orange*, but by such a powerful Back; yet so great was the Reputation of his *Majesty's Wisdom* and *Authority*, that he soon drew all the *Partizans* of *France*, and even *De Wit* himself into his Measures, and the *States* enter'd into a *Treaty* with him to oppose the Power of that aspiring *Monarch*, (I mean *Lewis the Fourteenth*) and all this without costing the *Nation* a *Shilling* for *Alliances*; this was no sooner done but the Powers of the *North*, who had been embroil'd together, turn'd their Eyes upon his *Majesty* to be their *Mediator*.

Perhaps it shou'd here be observ'd, that these great Successes in *Negotiation* were owing to the fine Address and Skill of our *Ministers* abroad; this I readily own, for I make no doubt, if some ignorant *Buffoon* had been entrusted with our Affairs, we should have been treated without either *Fear* or *Respect*; *Foreigners* wou'd have had a Notion, that the *Nation*, like its *Representative*, was only fit to be play'd upon, and we shou'd have been laugh'd out of our *Trade* in the Sight of the *World*.

But, thank God, it was quite otherwise, and his *Majesty* had no sooner made Peace in the *North*, by his *Mediation*, but he was courted by *Spain* and *Portugal* to enter into *Alliances* with them; he also brought the *States* of *Algiers*, *Tripoly*, &c. into his

own Terms, and we may say, look'd the World into Peace.

All these Things were brought to pass in a short Space of Time, upon which Occasion Sir *William Temple* write thus to a Friend — ' I thank God, his Majesty's Character is rais'd so high, that he is become the Arbitrator of all *Europe*, by which Means, he has it in his Power to obtain infinite Advantages for his own *Subjects*. And the Historian *Echard*, after he has given an Account of all these Alliances, makes the following Remark — ' By these Treaties, *England* had the Opportunity of holding the Ballance of Power of *Europe*, which if it had immoveably observ'd since, and with reasonable Vigour, it might have sav'd the spending those Millions of *Treasure*, and *Oceans of Blood*, which have since happen'd.'

I mention these Things, only to shew what kind of Sway and Influence this Nation had in the Affairs of *Europe* under that Prince.



SATURDAY, Aug. 23, 1729.



THE agreeable News lately come to us from Abroad, that the Draught of a Treaty has been form'd and agreed to by the Ministers of the Allies of *Hanover*, in Conjunction with those of *Spain*, which wants nothing but the Concurrence of all the Powers concern'd, towards renewing the Congress, must afford Matter of Joy to all true *Englishmen* — Not that I ever apprehended we were in Danger, either from the Naval Power

Power of the Emperor, or the Land Forces of Spain ; but as the Business of War itself is Peace, we ought to be highly content it is in such Forwardness, because we may assure ourselves, that no Treaty will be ever agreed to by the present wise and able Administration, but such a one as shall be altogether consistent with the Honour and Safety of Great Britain.

We need make no Doubt, but the Subjects in general are extremely satisfied with the large Sums that have been expended in the several Naval Expeditions to the *West-Indies*, to the *Mediterranean*, to the *Baltick*, and to *SPITHEAD* — in the *Hire of Foreign Troops in Germany*, for the *Defence of England* — as well as what has been swallow'd up in that *bottomless Gulph*, call'd *SECRET SERVICE* ; but they will have Reason to be more satisfy'd, if these Expences shall be more than made good, by some extraordinary Advantages to be granted us in Point of *Commerce*, over and above what we possess'd before, by any former Treaties, which will certainly have this Consequence, that several *Taxes* may be remitted, which now lie heavy upon Trade, and burthen our Manufactures to such a Degree, that they cannot be afforded at Foreign Markets, as cheap as those of some Neighbouring Nations.

As to the *Captures* made upon our *Merchants* by the *Spaniards*, we know by the Enquiry that has been *encourag'd* into the Particulars, that the *Enemy* will be oblig'd to make good all these *Losses* ; and therefore it is unnecessary to say more of them.

But there are some People who are never to be satisfy'd, and these murmur that the *Stock of Strength and Spirits*, which has been wasted to keep us upon our *Guard*, were not discharg'd upon our *Enemy*, which they pretend would have oblig'd them to have come to our *Terms* a Year or two sooner —

But if we shall be Gainers by these *Delays*, if we have all this while been working ourselves into the *Spanish* Trade, and are now so well establish'd in it, that a certain neighbouring Nation will not be able to run away with any Share of it from us, *What Reason have we to be discontented?*

We may rest assured in one Thing, that it will not be such a *Peace* as will leave Things unsettled: We may count upon it, that our present *wise* and *able Ministers* will not act like unskilful Surgeons, who draw a Skin over the Wound they know not how to heal, which festers awhile in the Flesh, and then breaks out with worse Symptoms than ever; we know *they* will go to the Bottom of the *Sore*, and make a safe and perfect *Cure*.

What *Englishman* cou'd bear to have *Demands* and *Preensions* subsisting against his *Country*, which the Enemy might preserve *in petto*, till they cou'd lay hold of some dangerous *Crisis of Affairs*, when it wou'd not be safe perhaps for us to refuse any Thing.

If Things shou'd be made a little easy for the present, only by a Truce or a Pacification, which should not determine the Points in Dispute, the *disaffected Party* wou'd be apt to cry out, that the *Ministry* had sought nothing but their own *private Interest*, and *Security in View*, and had *sacrificed* both *Us* and *Posterity* to those Considerations alone; and that not having Skill enough to disengage us from the Perplexities and Difficulties into which we are fallen (I will not say how) they had found out Expedients for a Day, or at least till such Time as they cou'd conveniently slip their Heads out of *Publick Affairs*, and save *themselves* and *Fortunes*.

But these Reflections cannot with any Justice be cast upon the present *wise* and *able Administration*, which it is well known have constantly pursued the *true Interest* of their *Country*, to the Neglect
of

of their own *private Fortunes*; I speak it particularly with Regard to one *Great Man*, who amidst the *great Things* he has done for the Honour of this Nation, cannot be charg'd with voraciously grasping at the *beneficial Offices* of the Commonwealth for Himself and Family.

I may therefore venture to say, they will act no such Part; they will not entangle this *poor Nation* in Difficulties, which must be insuperable hereafter, and which any *Ministry*, tho' never so *skilful*, might not be able to overcome.

Peace, is certainly the most eligible State; but it is a new Doctrine amongst *Englishmen*, that *Inconveniencies*, *Hardships*, and *Injuries* are to be suffered, rather than to engage in a *War*; those who argue thus, have nothing but the Shred of an old Sentence to support their Opinion—an *unjust Peace* is better than the most just *War*; it may be a very good Sentence for a Grammarian to give as a Theme to School-boys; but it would be a miserable *Maxim* to be pursued upon all Occasions, in the great Affairs of the World.

If this were true, there is no State so *weak*, so *miserable*, so *reduced*, but may live in *Peace* at all Times, for it is but submitting to the *Demands* and *Incrudgements* of their Neighbours, and the Point is gained: But if a People supported by an *extensive Trade* shou'd be possessed with this Notion, the Consequence must be this; that other Nations need but study what Advantages they may want from them, and be sure of meeting with Submission and Compliance—and I wou'd fain know in what that must end?

Perhaps it may be imagin'd, that no Nation would offer to impose upon a People of so *meek a Spirit*; but if it should be otherwise, this pacifick People may hope at least, when they have given up all they have, to be suffer'd to remain in Quiet.

But to come nearer to our present Subject: If it be necessary at this Time, that *Great Britain* shou'd enter into a *War*, for the *Preservation* of her *just Rights*, Is there one Man of *Honour* or *Spirit* in the whole Nation, that will not give his *Vote* for it? Let us be never so much divided in some other Points, I am perswaded we shall agree not to submit to a *Foreign Yoke*; for such I account it, to have *Terms* cram'd down our Throats, either by *false Friends* or open *Enemies*; and the Man must be lost to all Sense of *Honour*, as well as *Understanding*, who wou'd prefer a *base* and *dangerous Tranquility* for his *Country*, to such a *necessary War*.

We are told, of late, that there are some few amongst us, who are for embracing peaceful Council at all Events; but who are they, or what are they, but the *grinning Slaves* of some particular *Great Men*? Who form all their Opinions and Reasons upon the very *Looks* and *Nods* of, their *Masters*, and therefore are not worthy to be reckon'd in the Number of the People.

It has been an old Observation, that the Attempts of a *Free-born People*, have generally been more *bold* and *noble* than the military Exploits of a poor dispirited Country, reduc'd to *Servitude*. I conceive it will not admit of a Dispute betwixt Us and the *Spaniards*, which are the People reduc'd to *Servitude*, and which the *Free-Men*; then sure we cannot be afraid of meeting them at Sea, with a Superiority of about Ten to One on our Side.— And I presume we can have nothing to do with them at Land, beyond the defending of a *Fortress*, which they know, as well as we, to be impregnable.

We may learn from History, that the *English* have ever been pleas'd with such Councils and Measures as have an Appearance of being generous and martial; and indeed, so they will ever be, as long

long as there is the least Remain of a *warlike Spirit* left amongst them.

In the Time of *Oliver Cromwell*, the Nation in general was extremely dissatisfy'd at an Alliance made with *France* against *Spain*, yet since some bold Actions were perform'd against the *Spaniards* in the *West-Indies*, it took off much of their Resentment, because that resolute Way of proceeding fell in with their Humour ; and yet I can't but say, but tho' the Quarrel might be wrong originally on our Side, it was nevertheless right to put a short End to it.

We know pretty well by what has pass'd these last Three Years, what the Expences of a War may amount to, and are a little acquainted with its Inconveniences, then I cannot see that there is any Thing that we can justly fear — Have we not a very powerful Nation in Alliance with us, whose Trade is extended, and whose Naval Power is greatly encreas'd within these few Years ? As it is my Business to keep a Foreign Correspondence, I have receiv'd Intelligence of near thirty Ships of the Line, which have been built new from the Stocks in the several Ports of *France*, within less than Seven Years last past, without reckoning some Fregates built in the River of *Thames*, in the Time of the late Regent, for the Service of the *Mississippi* Company, and which not being employ'd by the said Company, are added to the Royal Navy—What has *England* therefore to fear, when back'd with the Alliance of a Nation, which, within the Memory of Man, was of itself a Match for all the rest of *Europe* ?

Upon the whole, I hope we shall either have a War or a Peace, for a Truce is an uneasy State betwixt both, which keeps all Pretensions standing—If we had some Demands upon *Spain*, which we were in no Condition at present to oblige them to com-

comply with, a *Treaty* might be a good Expedient; but if the contrary of this should be the Case, it cannot appear either honourable or safe for us to comply with such a *Treaty*—It is acknowledging a *Debt*, and only begging a little *Fortbearance*, which in private Life, we know, is generally attended with *Ruin*.

To conclude, I shall only quote the Words of an Author, who in the Beginning of these Troubles founded the Trumpet of War; tho' it is generally believed he has chang'd his Opinion of late—However, his Reasons are as good now as they were then, and therefore we shall quote them—I mean the Author of the *Enquiry*.

'Nor can we conceive a more abject *Servility* of *Conduct*, than for a People so long famed for *Commerce* and *Bravery*, to see their darling Good and their *peculiar Glory*, the *Pledge* of all their *Liberty*, and *Life* of all their *Property*, just going to be forcibly and unrighteously torn from them, and *tamely* to look on without *one Struggle*, for so great a Blessing, or one *heartly Effort* against the *Invad-ers* of it.

'What can we become, if we give our *Consent* to such *Ruin*, by our *our supine Indolence* and *Insensibility*, and suffer ourselves to be stripp'd of our boasted *Strength*, and *Ornament* at once, but a *Nation* the most *DESPICABLE* of all *Nations* under *Heaven*; exposed to the *Contempt* and *Insults* of the *World* about us here below, and render'd utterly unworthy, by our own *Conduct*, of the Care of *Providence* above us?





SATURDAY, Aug. 30, 1729.



Olitical Pamphlets are generally written for one or other of the following Purposes;

First, In order to disabuse the Publick in Respect to some false Notions with which the People by the Artifices of designing Men may be possess'd, in prejudice to the *True Interest* of their Country, and then it is a *laudable, honest, and virtuous Occupation*:

Or, *Secondly*, For the Service of some *Party, Faction, or particular Set of Men*, in which Case, they generally have a Tendency towards the deceiving and imposing upon Mankind, and then all the Cunning of which the *Author* is Master, is employ'd to give false Glosses to Actions, and to lay false Colours on Things past, to magnify *notorious Blunders*; to give to Ignorance or Stupidity, or perhaps even to publick *Robbery*, the Praises and Attributes which shou'd be paid only to *Virtue and Honour*——and sometimes also they are written with a View of preventing the Resentment which Men in great Affairs are conscious will be due to some Measures resolv'd on, but not yet made Publick.

In the first Case, the Authors generally trust to undeniable Facts, and plain Reason, for the Support of Truth. In the second, you meet with Suppositions, Conjectures, long Arguments grounded upon Facts which cannot be prov'd, and which perhaps many *know to be false*——but to silence the Opposition which must be made to such a Proceeding,
it

it is Ten to One but the Author calls God to witness all his Untruths, and thinks to bear us down by the Force of Vows and Proteftations.

Thus as Pamphlets are fo often written to ferve fome particular Turn, they are look'd upon by many, to be as much out of Date as an old News-Paper, when that Turn is serv'd.

But I must beg Pardon, if I differ from these Gentlemen, for I think old Pamphlets are of this farther Use, that we know by them the Discontents and Grievances of the Times in which they were written, and sometimes the Politicks and Artifices of Ministers of State; and consider'd in this View, they may give us a great Light into History.

I conceive the Pamphlet, intitled, *An Enquiry into the Conduct of Great Britain*, to be as great a Curiosity to Day, as it was when it first came into the World; there are many Things deliver'd there upon strong Conjecture, others positively asserted, which now begin to appear with all the Marks of Fiction, and therefore we are better able to judge of the honest Designs with which it was publish'd.

First, the Marriage of *Don Carlos*, second Son of the present King of *Spain*, with the eldest Daughter of the *Emperor*, is there asserted as a Thing certain, and that it was one of the private Articles of the Treaty of *Vienna*——The Consequences of this Marriage, with the Succession of the said *Don Carlos* to the Dutchies of *Tuscany*, *Parma*, &c. are given for the Reason why *Great Britain* was so alarm'd at the Treaty of *Vienna*; why she put herself to all that Expence of Fleets and hired Troops, which continue to this Day.

Whereas it now appears, that one of the Projects of the Allies of *Hanover*, towards the restoring the general Tranquility (if our Accounts be not false) is to satisfy the Court of *Spain* in that Point,

Point, and to secure and guaranty the Succession of the said *Don Carlos*, to the aforesaid Dutchies.

Is it possible for any Man to believe, that if the Marriage of *Don Carlos* with the eldest *Arch-Dutchess* was one of the Articles of the Treaty of *Vienna*, and a Thing which might be attended with such fatal Consequences to the Trade and Interest of *Great Britain*, (as is pretended by that Author) that we should at this Time promote his Succession to those Dutchies? Or is it reasonable, so think that we should act such an inconsistent Part, as one Year to put ourselves to immense Charges, to hinder it, and the next Year take Pains, and hazard new Expences, to bring it to pass?

But I shall dwell no longer upon this Point, because it has already in Part been touch'd upon by another Writer, therefore I shall pass on to what the *Enquiry* says concerning *Gibraltar* and *Port Mahone*.——First, I shall give his own Words, and then make my Remarks upon them.

‘ I will say a Word or two about the Possessions of *Great Britain* within the *Spanish* Dominions, and how they must be affected by this new Alliance—— These are *Gibraltar* and *Port Mahone*; won by our Arms in lawful War; ascertain'd to us as our Property, by all the Parties concern'd in that War, and secured to us by all the Solemnities of Alliances, and Treaties, and particularly by this present King of *Spain* himself, in two express Articles of that Treaty of Peace sign'd at *Utrecht*, 1713.

‘ For of the great Importance, especially of one (I mean *Gibraltar*.) I wou'd not be thought to speak as any the least Motive to a just and brave People to value and preserve it, were not the Possession of it founded on the strictest Right, and the most undeniable Maxims of Political and National Justice; But when that Importance

'to which *Spain* gives Testimony by the Eager-
 'ness discover'd to wrest it out of our Hands, is
 'added to the Right of Possession, no one amongst
 'us, who is a true Lover of his Country, can be
 'very easy under the Prospect of an Alliance,
 'which open'd itself to *Great Britain*, with the
 'civil Compliment from *Spain*, of demanding *Gib-*
 '*raltar* immediately, as the Condition of the Con-
 'tinuance of a Friendship, which cannot be violat-
 'ed without the Breach of all Faith, and Trust in
 'Treaties, and with the *Emperor's* Obligation to
 'use his kind Help to bring *Great Britain* to a
 'Compliance with that Demand.

And a little after, the same Author adds farther
 upon this Subject ——— 'After the Proofs of this
 'Fact, I need say no more than that, if the De-
 'signs of this Alliance be not vigorously oppos'd,
 'and effectually broke, the first unwelcome Evil
 'to *Great Britain* must be, to see a Place of the
 'utmost Importance to us, if we will trust the
 'Confession both of Friends and Enemies, wrested
 'from us by Force, (if it be possible) unless we
 'will basely yield it up to the Importunity of
 'those who ask it: And a Place which is our
 'Honour, and our Strength Abroad; a great *De-*
 '*fence* and *Advantage* to our extended *Navigation*;
 'and a *Convenience* to our Ships of all Sorts, not
 'to be equall'd by any other Place, that can be
 'offer'd by that *Crown*, which wou'd deprive us
 'of it.'

Here are many Reasons given to shew the Im-
 portance of this Fortrefs to the Trade of the
British Subjects, and to demonstrate to us that we
 ought not to part with it upon any Terms what-
 soever; nay, the Author employs all his Rhetor-
 ick to spirit us up to a strong Resentment against
 the Court of *Spain*, for a Demand so *unreasonable*
 and *insolent*, a Demand for which (he wou'd make

(as believe) the King of *Spain* had not the least Pretence or Grounds, and which he wou'd insinuate, must be owing intirely to some Article of the Treaty of *Vienna*; for what else can he mean, When he says ——— *no one amongst us can be easy under the Prospect of an Alliance, which open'd itself to Great Britain with the stoll Compliment from Spain of demanding Gibraltar* ——— As if it was the first Time *Great Britain* had heard of any such Demand.

Now what I have to observe here is, that the Author has discover'd an extream Want of Candour and Sincerity in concealing a Fact which I'm persuaded he will not pretend to be ignorant of, because he all along takes upon him to be acquainted with the most secret Transactions and Intelligences of our Ministers — The Fact I mean is the *Letter* of the late King, to the present King of *Spain*, concerning the Restitution of *Gibraltar* which it is well know is the Circumstance upon which the Court of *Spain* grounds its Pretensions for demanding that Place.

We may speak of this *Letter* with Freedom, since it has been laid before the Parliament; and therefore I say, it is in Consequence of that *Letter* that *Spain* demanded the Restitution of that important Place, even before the Treaty of *Vienna*; yet this Author has not given us the least Hint or Opening, by which we might conjecture that *Spain* had any Pretence to lay Hold of, in order to Countenance her in such a strange Demand; it is a Point he has totally conceal'd, and by the Stile in which he talks of the *Spanish* Court, he wou'd dispossess us of any such Notion, and sure he must know that it was a Thing talk'd of long before the Publication of his Pamphlet — What shall we say of this Writer? I cannot help thinking of an old Saying, which I believe I have somewhere used before, but it comes so a *propos* to the

present Purpose, that I cannot forbear quoting it once more — that, *He that conceals half the Truth, tells a whole Lie.*

I will make another Remark or two upon this Author, by which we may judge whether his Aim in Writing was to dispossess us of Prejudices, or to impose upon us in Points of the utmost Consequence to the Prosperity of our Country.

In enumerating the *notable Services* perform'd by three great Fleets which were fitted out in one Year, he speaks thus.

‘ But as the Question here at Home chiefly, if not solely, refers to our Naval Armaments from *England*, What have they produced, or for what Reasons were they sent? The Answer is very plain — As to the Squadron sent to the *West-Indies*, I believe there is no one who has an Estate in those Parts, or is concern'd in any Trade thither, who did not think it highly necessary to have a strong Squadron in those Seas for securing our Commerce, which must otherwise be inevitably ruin'd by the Depredations and Violences committed by the *Spaniards* for several Years past without Redress; and if the sending the said Squadron has prevented the Return of the Galleons, no Man who is in the least conversant in the Affairs of *Europe*, can make any Doubt but that this Incident has been the only Thing that has hitherto prevented a War in *Europe*, by depriving the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid* of the Means of putting in Execution the dangerous Schemes they had projected.

It happens that this Author is as much out in his Politicks as in his Facts, for the *Spaniards* receiv'd their *Flota* at the Time that all those Squadrons were at Sea, which brought them a great Treasure; their Galleons are arriv'd since, and the whole Treasure belonging to several Nations,

tions, still continues in the Hands of the King of Spain, and yet *Europe* is not involv'd in War; Nay, that Prince now discovers greater Dispositions towards Peace, than he did before he receiv'd this Treasure, and the *English* Traders have receiv'd better Quarter from his Privateers than before.

He goes on to tell us, that thro' the kind Dispositions of Providence, our Fleet met with no Disappointments from Wind and Weather, or other Misfortunes — so that thank God (says he) 'Every one of the Armaments has had Success' equal to the *Goodness of the Errand they were all sent upon*, and even beyond Expectation. For 'as to the Squadron in the *West-Indies*, it has protected the Trade of his Majesty's Subjects in those Parts from the Depredations of the *Spaniards*.'

This the Author was pleas'd to write, notwithstanding our Letters from all the Plantations were fill'd with nothing but the Accounts of our Losses by the *Spaniards*; nor did he think fit to give us a List of the *Spanish* Privateers taken by the Ships of that Squadron, whereby we might be induc'd to believe, that our Losses must have been still more considerable, were it not for the Actions of the said Squadrons; nor was he pleas'd to make Use of any Reasons or Arguments to persuade us that the Appearance of these Armaments in the *West-Indies*, and on the Coast of *Spain*, was not the Thing that provok'd the *Spaniards* to fall upon our Trade with these extraordinary Violences, tho' he must have known that the mercantile Part of the Nation were possessed with such a Notion (tho' no doubt without Reason.)

What has he done then? Why he has given us Articles of Treaties, and insinuated Designs against *Great Britain*, for which it now appears he had no Grounds; he has conceal'd some Truths,

and advanced Things which (to speak no worse of them) are still monstrous Improbabilities, and then protests he advanced nothing, the Truth of which he was not convinc'd of. — Then what can we think of him? Must we not at least judge, that let his Circumstances be what they will, he must be some dishonourable Tool, employ'd for Purposes which deserve a very harsh Name?



SATURDAY, Sept. 6, 1729.



It has been look'd upon as a dangerous Symptom in the Body Politick of a *Commonwealth*, to see the People to lose their *Spirits*, to observe them distrust their own natural *Courage* and *Strength*, and discover a *Backwardness* of ingaging in any *noble, bold, or generous Enterprize*, which may be requisite for the Defence of their *just Rights*.

I remember when the Treaties of *Vienna* and *Hanover* were first made publick, the *Emperor* and the King of *Spain* were the two most insignificant *Princes* in *Europe*. If a Man went to certain *Levees*, he heard nothing but such vain and insolent *Boasting*, as was an Offence to most Ears (for Wise Men know, that *Courage* and good Sense never dwell with the vain Braggard) — In short, we cou'd have expected no less from the Discourse, than that the two *Princes* just named, wou'd be brought Prisoners to the *Tower*, at farthest in two Months.

Buſ

But since it has been discover'd, that these *Princes* are neither frighten'd by the *Thunder* of big *Words*, nor by the *Thunder* of the *Canon* of all our *Fleets*; our loud Gentlemen are become as humble as *Spaniels*, their *Language* is quite chang'd: If you go to the same *Lévees* now, you hear them say—
 If the *King* of *Spain* is not to be pleas'd one *Way*, we must please him another; the *Queen* governs, and *Women* must be humour'd; why should we go to *War* about *Gibraltar*? We liv'd before we had it, it is but a *Point* of *Honour*, and what have we to do with *Honour*?

I wou'd not insinuate hereby, as if I thought the natural *Courage* of our *People* was quite sunk from what it was, I believe they wou'd at this *Time* Face an *Enemy* in a good *Cause*, with the same *Intrepidity* as ever — for those who run into these *Discourses*, are such as lately described, nothing but the *Slaves* of *Power*, and therefore not worthy to be reckon'd in the *Number* of the *People*.

But when there are some amongst us who endeavour to intimidate others, and to possess the *Minds* of the *Subject* with pammick *Fears*; it is honest to set them right, and without idle *Rhodomontades*, put them in *Mind* of their ancient *Valour*.

Therefore, if *Great Britain* cannot without *Dis-honour* avoid coming to *Blows*, I cannot see that she has any thing to fear from the *United Powers* of the *Empire* and of *Spain*; I have said before, and I repeat it again, that we can have nothing to do with them by *Land*, for ours is a *Government* form'd for *Preservation*, not for *Conquest* — *Providence* by placing us in the *Midst* of the *Ocean*, seem'd to have design'd, that all our *Greatness* should arise from *Trade*, and by *Sea* we are able

to prosecute and defend our Commerce against all Invaders.

From whence then should this Shiness arise? It cannot be from any secret Doubts of the Capacities of our *Ministers*—no—under such a *Set of Men* as *Great Britain* has been *blest* with for some Time past at the Head of her Affairs, we are not only able, but shall be willing to enter upon a *War* for the Defence of our A. E. I., I mean our *TRADE*.

If we are threaten'd with Storms, I thank God, we have *able Pilots* at our *Helm*, who can master all the Dangers, and Difficulties incident to such a Circumstance of Affairs; *Men* who are able to steer us thro' all the *Rocks* and *Quick sands*, which indeed are terrible Things to *ignorant Men*, but little fear'd by those who understand *true Steerage*.

But to quit this Metaphor; I say, if we continue to be guided by the same Principles—*if* we go on in the same Steps, by which we have so happily advanc'd our Affairs for some Years past, a *War* will be infinitely less inconvenient, than a scandalous *PEACE*.

It is an old Observation, that good Events generally (some say always) follow *wise Councils*; and therefore, if our *Ministers* continue to promote Frugality in the *Treasury*, as *they always have done*—If they are liberal of their *own Money*, by saving that of the *Publick*, as *they always have been*—If they go on to prosecute all *Frauds* and *Robberies* committed by the *Commonwealth*, as *they always have done*—If they are backward in demanding *Money*, and imposing *Taxes* upon the *Subject*, as *they always have been*—And if they give the same fair Accounts of what is rais'd for the *Service* of the *Publick*, as of *late Years they have done*, what have we to fear?

But

But there are no People who mistake their own Business so much as *Flatterers*; and it is the little despicable *Boys* who live upon the *Looks* and *Smiles* of *Great Men*; who are endeavouring to instill Fears into the Minds of the People; it is they who give out, that all Evils are to be endured rather than to enter into a War, not considering that by such Discourse, they insinuate a Distrust of our present *wise and able Ministers*, and do as good as tell the World, that they are not equal to such a Fluctuation of Events, as may be the Consequence of a War.

I confess there might be some Pretence for Fear, if we had a *Ministry* in the Credit of having no Views but to their own private, and personal Interest, and of having no Eyes for any Thing which belong'd to the *People*, except to their *Money*—If we had some blundering Fellow unskill'd in all the Arts of true Policy employ'd in our Affairs, and only conversant in little *low Tricks and Frauds*—If we had those who were Squanderers of the *Publick Treasure*, but tenacious of their own—If we had such as promoted all Kinds of *Corruption*, in the Discharge of Offices—for then we might justly apprehend the Judgment of God must fall upon us, and that War was rais'd up only as a Scourge for to *profligate a Nation*.

But let us banish all such Apprehensions from our Minds; let us open our Eyes to our own *Virtue*, as well as to our own *Wisdom*, and look for that Success which is the Reward of Good Council: Let us take up a fair *Glass of Retrospection*, and by viewing Actions past, form our Expectations of the Event of those to come.

If we do this, we shall find that our present Grandeur and Reputation came not upon us by the Works of giddy Chance, nor was its Power quick and sudden; it is the Result of a Chain of *wise Councils*

Councils and *Actions*, pursued for the Course of some late Years.

There is a Party among us (known by the Name of *Modern Whigs*) who attribute our present flourishing Circumstances entirely to our Attachment to *France*, or to the Attachment of *France* to us, (for I scarce know which Way to term it) and this they pretend to be the Corner Stone upon which we have erected so great a Fame as well as Power — a Friendship as consistent with the true *Interest* of *England*, as with the *Humours* and *Inclinations* of our People.

When *Ministers* enter into Engagements apparently shocking to the *Honour* and *Interest* of their *Country*, Men are apt to think there are some very unjustifiable Reasons at the Bottom, which regard only their own *private Interest*; and these who are inclin'd to judge the most favourable, will be apt to think it at least some *hasty Blunder in the Dark*, that they are meer *Mad-men*, or *Idiots*, or the *Tools* of some Foreign Power — but sure no Man will pretend to say so, of our present *wise* and *able Ministers*.

But as the Advantages flowing from this Engagement with *France* are so plainly seen and felt by the People, nothing can be easier than to point them out.

We may date the Beginning of this strict Friendship from the Time of the Duke of *Orleans's* being establish'd as Regent of *France*; soon after which Establishment, it is well known, there grew some ill Humour betwixt the Court of *Spain* and the said Regent; nor was there a very good Harmony subsisting betwixt the *Emperor* and the *Spanish* Court, upon which Occasion we took Part with *France* and the *Empire*, against *Spain*, because it was for our *Interest*.

Spain

Spain had early Intelligence of it, but cou'd not believe we were in earnest, or that we wou'd give them an unkind Blow; they form'd a thousand Reasons to themselves why we should not use them ill; upon these Presumptions they ventur'd to fit out their Fleet, which Fleet was destroy'd by ours—*because it was our Interest.*

It is true, this gave some Shock to our Trade, the *Spaniards* in their Spleen enter'd upon a Manufacture, which subsists to this Day, but what then? We perform'd herein the Duty of a faithful Ally; we were the Means of gaining *Sicily*, a great Kingdom, for the *Emperor*, and by that means setting the Ballance of Power, a Thing *certainly* for our *Interest.*

But it happen'd that *Spain* was extremely disgust'd at *France* from a new Cause, and this was their sending back the *Infanta*, which induced *Spain* to turn her Eyes once more upon *Great Britain*, a Kindness we could not have expected without such an Incident; and now the Expressions of Kindness from *Spain* towards *Britain* began to run higher than ever. I speak this from the *Enquiry*, an Author who assures us, he has advanced nothing, the Truth of which he was not convinced of, who tells us, 'That his *Catholic Majesty* declar'd 'he was resolv'd to separate himself for ever 'from *France*, and place his entire Friendship 'and Confidence solely in *Great Britain* — that 'to this End he now desir'd to enter into the 'strictest Engagements for rendering that Friendship 'perpetual, and that he hop'd his *Britannick Majesty* 'would suffer the Negotiations at *Cambray* to go 'on under his Mediation ONLY, ~~in whole~~ 'Hands he was desirous to put *all his Interest*. But the same Author is also pleas'd to tell us that we cou'd not accept of this Mediation, ~~because~~ of our Engagements with *France*.

I count

I count this Affair as none of the least Advantages growing to us from our strict Attachment to *France*, for hereby we have avoided the Trouble of being *sole Arbitrators of all the Powers in Europe*, a Fatigue I cannot see how we could have refused, had not this Engagement with *France* furnish'd us with an Excuse—If I am demanded to shew some Reason why I esteem this so great a Benefit to my Country, my Answer is, that *I will give no Reasons upon Compulsion*.

There are Persons amongst us indeed (whom I shall take the Liberty to call Men disaffected to our present *wise and able Ministers*) who insinuate, that our long and strict Adherence to *France*, has given Jealousy and Uneasiness to certain Powers of *Europe*, formerly in Friendship with *Great Britain*, that they apprehended no less than that *France* which (*next to our Interest*) has the greatest Regard for her own, might make use of it to aggrandize herself again; or to speak more plain, that she wou'd by rising upon the Shoulders of *Great Britain*, once more be able to overlook and frighten her Neighbours; and therefore these Powers thought it Time to provide against so dangerous a Conjunction; and this was the Reason why the Treaty of *Vienna* was carried on with that Secrecy and Disregard to *Great Britain*.

Thus wou'd these People persuade us to believe, that all our present Evils proceed from our close Attachment to *France*; they even go so far as to say, that if we had carried it with that Reserve and Caution towards *France*, which is practised betwixt *wise Nations* differing in Interests, even in Times of Tranquility, and the best Understanding, the present Divisions in *Europe*, which have put us to so vast an Expence of Treasure, wou'd never have happen'd.

How

How easily such Things may be said, but how hard are they to be prov'd ! For is it reasonable to suppose, that *France* should lead us by the Nose for so many Years together ? 'Cot'd she artfully embroil us first with one Power, then with another, till our Trade shou'd be sunk, and our Affairs so perplex'd, that she might without Difficulty work us into an entire Dependance upon her ? No ! He that believes that, must of Course believe that the *French* Ministers have not the Prosperity of *England* at Heart, above all other Things, and that they are Men of greater Skill and Address than even ours ; and sure that is a Notion which can enter into no Man's Head.

Such Reasonings therefore deserve no Answer ; if we should for Argument sake put the Thing into the worst Light, and allow that our Attachment to *France* might occasion the Treaty of *Vienna*, they will not deny but this produced the Treaty of *Hannover* ; and sure no Apology need be made for that Treaty, so wisely and honestly calculated for the Strength and Defence of *Great Britain* — When they have urged all they can, they can only pretend that we have for a while lost ; but have we not gain'd the *Landgrave of Hesse* ? And if we have lost the Emperor, have we not gain'd the Duke of *Wolfenbuttle*.





SATURDAY, Sept. 13, 1729.



IN our last we endeavour'd to enumerate the *many Advantages* flowing to *Great Britain* from its long Attachment to *France* (*I should have said, from the long Attachment of France to Great Britain*) but upon more mature Consideration, we find, that many material Things remain unobserv'd upon that Subject, and we shall prove the Old Proverb to be true, that *Second Thoughts are best*.

It may, I confess, appear a little unnecessary to take Pains to demonstrate, what Men of all Ranks and Degrees amongst us already seem to concur in; but as it is no Secret that there are Malecontents amongst us, who will subscribe their Opinions to nothing they do not see and feel, it may not be amiss to apply to such, and endeavour to dispossess them of all the Objections they can raise against the Measures taken by the present *wise and able Administration*.

I conceive therefore, that it will be very easy to convince the most stubborn *Malecontent*, that nothing can give *Great Britain* a more advantageous Figure in *Europe*, than to go Hand in Hand with *France*; and I may presume to add, that our great Friendship in that Kingdom is so circumstantiated, that not only our *Interest*, but our *Honour* and *Reputation* also are highly advanced thereby.

I re-

I remember a *Simile* made by a certain Author, which falls in very *a propos* to our present Subject—

‘ There is no Woman (*says he*) but has the Fear of contracting an Intimacy with a much greater Beauty than herself, because it exposes her too often to a Comparison that is not advantageous to her ; and sure it may become a Nation to be as jealous of its Dignity, as a Lady can be of her Looks, and to be as much out of Countenance, to be thought upon only as an humble Companion to a much greater Power.

‘ To be always seen in an ill Light, to be darken’d by the Brightness of a much greater Star, is somewhat mortifying ; and when a Nation might as it were ride Admiral in the midst of all her Neighbours, to look like the *Kitchen Yacht* to some Confederate, is a very *scoury Figure* to make in the Map of *Europe*.

Thus writes a noble Author upon the like Occasion—his Comparison is, no doubt of it, true in all its Parts ; but let *France* look to that ; if we find that from the Beginning of this Alliance to this Day, all the Court from the Princes and States of *Europe* has been paid to us *alone*, we may know that we are look’d upon as the *great Beauty*, and she is consider’d only as an *humble Companion* waiting upon our *Pleasures*, as a meer *Foil* to set us off, and therefore we have no Reason to be mortified.

But these being only Points of Reputation and Honour, we know will be laugh’d at by our modern Men of Business as empty Advantages, who very wisely have laid such Considerations aside in the Pursuit of their own private Fortunes ; and therefore we shall dwell no more upon them, and only take a View of this Conjunction in Point of Political Interest.

All Men, who are conversant in History, know that *France* and *Spain* have each by Turns aim'd at universal Monarchy; *Spain* attempted it in the Time of *Charles the Fifth*, and *France* made a Push for it under *Lewis the Fourteenth*.—In all these Changes and Revolutions of Power, it was the Wisdom of *Great Britain* to throw herself into the lightest Scale, in order to make the Balance even, which has rais'd her to be of great Importance in the Affairs of *Europe*.

But to prove that it is her own Concern, I shall quote the Words of an Author, who has well wrote in Defence of the present wise and able Administration.—* ‘Whatever ruins the Trade, that is, the Riches and Strength of any Government, destroys at the same Time the Evenness of that Balance which alone can keep *Europe* in any tolerable Order. Whoever ruins any of the Powers now subsisting, does truly destroy the Sufficiency of that Strength, by which alone that Balance is preserv'd, and what then must be the Consequence? Where the Trade and Riches of these, or either of these settles, there settles also the Power with them, and that Power remov'd from them to another, must be the Destruction of that Balance; and the Destruction of that Balance must be the Loss of the Liberties of the rest of *Europe*, and particularly, as Occasion shall offer, of the Liberties of Great Britain.

Then let the Powers of *Europe* be embroil'd when they will, *Great Britain* must still take Part with the weakest, not from a Motive of Generosity, but from a fundamental Maxim of Policy, from which

* *The Enquiry into the Conduct of Great Britain, supposed to be written by the B—p of S—.*

which she never can depart, till *she is out of her Senses*.

This being a Point not to be controverted, I hope the Readers will have the Complaisance to grant me one Thing more, which is, that *Spain* is now, and has for some Years past been the Power of *Europe*, which is attempting to establish another universal Monarchy.

If there are those who will not be so kind to indulge me in this small Point, if there are those who pretend that the Emperor's Power at present looks much more formidable to *Europe* than that of *Spain*, I can by one short Instance put them to Silence, and that is, by reminding them of the Conduct of *Great Britain* in the late Reign, when *Spain* was at Variance with *France* and the *Empire* at the same Time—What did we do, I say, upon this Crisis, but *very wisely* threw ourselves into the Scale of the *latter*, and at *great Expence*, fitted out a Fleet in the common Cause; to reduce the *exorbitant Power of Spain*, to raise up that of the *Emperor* or of *France*.

This is a Proof that it is *Spain*, and not the *Empire*, which looks terrible to the rest of *Europe*.

He that will not allow me this to be Fact, may as well urge that *England* was influenc'd by *Foreign Councils*—That the Advantage of *Great Britain* was no Way consider'd in that Expedition, but that her Strength was employ'd merely for the Service of another People.

If any Man shou'd reason in this Manner with me, I shou'd take the Liberty of declaring such a Supposition to be very absurd—for the Counsellors who advis'd that Step were never called to an *Account*, or *impeach'd* by our *UNCORRUPT Parliament*; those who framed and drew up the Orders for the commanding Officer, still live in the Favour and Sunshine of the Court, enjoying an Encrease of

Wealth and Honour; the *Admiral* himself, who executed those Orders, was highly distinguished for the extraordinary Services he did his Country in that Expedition, having received the greatest Honour a Subject can be advanced to, that of a Peerage of *Great Britain*; all which Circumstances, I hope, will be taken as so many Proofs, that it was both a wise and an honest Expedition.

But to come to the Point——Thus stands the Case; *Spain* being the Power which of late has threaten'd *Europe* with Chains, and as *Great Britain* must be remotely affected by every Conquest she makes upon the Continent, it was highly necessary for her to enter into such early Engagements with other Powers, as might effectually prevent the ambitious Attempts of *Spain* upon the rest of *Europe*, and nothing can appear so effectual for this Purpose, as a strict Friendship betwixt her and *France*.

For first, it may be the Means of preserving a very friendly Power, a Power whose Interest not clashing with ours, will be of great Use towards advancing our Trade — This is not all, for as Affairs now stand, *France* is to be consider'd in the Nature of a Barrier, and Frontier to *Great Britain* itself, to such a Degree, that if that Kingdom were once conquer'd, or even made dependant upon *Spain*, *Great Britain* must be in continual Apprehensions of Attempts from the Spanish Rovers coming with their Fleet from *Calais*, *Boulogne*, *Diep*, &c. to *Dover* and *Deal*; an Evil not to be guarded against after the Subjection of *France*, but by the Expence either of a constant Fleet upon those Coasts, or an arm'd Force in those Parts of the Country which lie most expos'd to such Attempts.

The Designs and Views therefore of this strict Friendship with *France* being unexpectedly good, and

and grounded upon the most approv'd Maxims of Policy, in respect to the Preservation of our Interest, let us consider it next with respect to another Point, a Point which comprehends all other Benefits and Advantages, and that is the *Preservation of the Protestant Religion.*

Let those who have long entertain'd just Fears of the present *over-grown Power of Spain*, consider what it is they are thus jealous of: Is it not a bigotted Popish Nation, a People (who if their ambitious Designs should succeed) will have Strength, and will not want Will to extirpate every Appearance of *Protestantism*, of what Denomination soever, but of *Europe*? Without Exception to any one Church above another; only with the more fatal Exception of a more sure and quick Blow, to that *Church*, a great Part of whose Revenues, as well as the Riches of a Multitude of its Members, arise from the *Dissolution of Monasteries*, and the Alienation of *Abbey Lands*; and whose unpardonable Crime it will be to have been the great *Support* of the *Reformation*, and the *Bulwark* of the Protestant Cause against *Papery*.

Where can that Church, or where can that Protestant Religion, hope, I will not say for Countenance, but for Sufferance? When the whole Protestant Power in *Europe*, which in its present Condition is little better than a Creature with Pain and Difficulty struggling for Life, shall be broke to Pieces by Acquisitions made by other Powers of Riches and Force — Acquisitions which will be a double Strength against it, and as they must be taken from those who alone have a Will to protect it, and added to those who have a Zeal to hurt and oppress it.

I hope this will not be receiv'd and laugh'd at as a political Bugbear, a mere Scarecrow, a Word

of Alarm worn threadbare, or a meer Puppet used and play'd by *Statesmen*, as often as such Measures have been taken as could not stand *the Test*, or bear a fair *Inspection*.

I have the Words of an Author for it, who is suppos'd to be a *Reverend* Clergyman of the Church of *England*; nay, I may say a *Right Reverend*, for it is generally thought he is dignify'd in that Church, for whose warm Endowments he has ever borne so *filial* an Affection; it is to him we are indebted for this extraordinary Discovery, that our Engagements with *France* are the present great Support of the Protestant Religion in *Europe*, a Discovery not to be made by every common Observer; but I hope no Body will dispute the Authority of one who writes nothing but upon the most *convincing Arguments and Proofs*; of one who enjoys so ample a Revenue, arising from the Patrimonies of that Church, and of one whose *Kingdom is not of this World*.

And indeed, when we come to consider the odd Circumstances of the Affairs of *Europe*, we shall be oblig'd to concur with this Gentleman, that the Security of the Protestant Religion is one of the greatest Advantages accruing to this Nation from its late Engagements with *France*, for it is well known that the King of *Prussia*, one of the Principals in the Treaty of *Hanover*, has been long gone off from us, he has for a considerable Time past been altogether influenc'd by Popish Councils, and engag'd in Popish Measures, and seems to be entirely led by the Directions of his Imperial Majesty; and therefore where could a *Protestant People* expect to meet a friendly and faithful Ally, except in *France*? And especially where there is a *Cardinal* at the Head of the *Administration* of that *flourishing Kingdom*; a *Cardinal*, who as he is allow'd to be a *Person* of great *Zeal and Piety*, cannot sure want the Will to promote
and

and protect *our Holy Religion*; a *Cardinal* who perhaps has discover'd as great a Disposition to advance the *Prosperity* of this *Country*, as any *Cardinal* in the whole Congregation of *Cardinals*.

This is all at present that occurs to me upon so copious a Subject; nor have I, to the best of my Memory, omitted any one good Reason, that I ever yet heard given for our strict Engagements with *France*; if there are any Persons living who can offer better, we shall be very willing to communicate their Sentiments to the Publick.



SATURDAY, Sept 27, 1729.



ACHIAVEL has somewhere observ'd, that a *Commonwealth* or *City*, which labours under the Disreputation of wanting both *Wisdom* and *Steadiness* in *Council*, and *Resolution* in *Action*, will not be able long to maintain either *Respect* Abroad, or *Liberty* at Home.

The World is extremely govern'd by *Opinion* in all great Things, as well as small; and in political Affairs, as much has often been done by *Fame*, as by real Power.

There is no *Commonwealth* but will be cautious of embroiling itself with another which is in high Credit amongst her Neighbours, for the *Wisdom* and *Steadiness* of her Councils; but that State which has the Misfortune to be thought under a bad Government, and whose Affairs are supposed to be in the Hands of *ignorant* and

and ~~unthinking~~ Men, will never want Troubles to ~~see~~, to ~~weaken~~, and ~~undo~~ her: It is then that every petty Prince will start Demands and Pretensions against her, which indeed may appear idle and frivolous to unthinking Men; but those who look deep into Things, will easily see, that the Cause of them lies in her *Folly* and *Weakness*, and they know ~~this~~ is a Time to gain Points, which it wou'd be in vain to attempt under a *wise Administration*.

If she seeks to strengthen herself by Alliances, she finds none that will engage with her, without sharing her Treasure, and then she becomes the Tool of those whose Friendship she relies upon for her Support: Whether the Princes and States around her be at War or Peace, she is held to be of no Consideration in either, but to be subservient to the Designs of others: If she shou'd set herself up as Arbitrator or Umpire of the Disputes of other Powers, her Offer in all Probability will meet with Contempt.

When the Romans were at War with the Volsci, if my Memory fails me not, it was the Tarentines, who sent Ambassadors to mediate a Peace betwixt them; but these Ambassadors were laugh'd at by the Consul *Emilius*, who thought it ridiculous for Men to pretend to manage for others, who by bad Government, had almost ruin'd themselves, and therefore they were sent back with Scorn.

Wherever there is a *corrupt Minister* at the Head of Affairs in a Nation, there must be *Discontents* and *Murmurs* amongst the People: Then it is that the *Publick Treasure* is laid out in *Bribes* to raise a Faction to Support this MAN against the just Resentments of his Country; and the Interest of the State, with Respect to other Nations, is no more thought on, or regarded, than if it was not the Business of that Minister at all; if any Commotions arise, there are ~~but~~ one Way of doing Business, and

and that is by buying them off with Money, or obtaining a little Forbearance for a Sum, which is *bleeding a Nation* at every Vein.

What the Effect of a *corrupt Senate* must be, may be seen by *Machiavel's History of Florence*; there it may be observ'd how bad Government within, weakens a State without.

There were in that City some Men of choice Spirits, who not being tainted with the Baseness of the Times, had it in their Hearts to relieve their Country; they now and then made such feint Attempts as their little Strength wou'd allow, and were generally unsuccessful, their Accomplices and Partizans being bought off by those in the Government; thus was the People's Money employ'd altogether to keep them in Slavery: Amongst the rest, *Rinaldo*, a Man of great Wisdom, and Resolution, gathering together what Force he could, made an Attempt for restoring of *Liberty*; but as his Fortune was no better than that of others, he with several other Citizens of most Honour and Repute were banish'd their Country: At his going off he made this remarkable Speech.

' Of the Vicissitudes and Uncertainty of Fortune, I have had Experience enough. I have never presum'd in its Prosperity; and Adversity shall never detect me; knowing that when she pleases, she can tack about and indulge me: If she continues her Severity, and never smiles upon me more, I shall not much value it, esteeming it no great Happiness to live in a City where the Laws are of less Authority, than the Passions of Particular Men; for might I have my Choice, that should be my Country, where I may securely enjoy my Fortune, and my Friends; and not that where the first is easily sequester'd, and the latter, either thro' Fear, or for Pur-
' chase,

* chafe, will forsake me in my greatest Necessity.
 * To a wife and good Man, it is always less un-
 * grateful to *hear*, than to be a *Spectator* of the
 * Miseries of his Country, and held more honour-
 * able to be an HONEST REBEL than a SEAVILE
 * CITIZEN.

After the Banishment of *Rinaldo* and his Followers the Historian tells us, that *Florence* was in a miserable Condition, for a Pack of vile Informers were kept in Pay, so that the most worthy of the Citizens were often question'd and molested, not only for their Inclinations and Parties but for their Relations and private Correspondences, and so went on to harass every one whom they suspected of being Enemies to the State, and Friends to their Country.

The Government strengthen'd itself with new Laws, new Magistrates, and new Elections, and divided all the beneficial Offices of the Commonwealth among themselves; they even created new Offices, and made those already establish'd, more lucrative than they were before, and all Kinds of Roguery in the Discharge of these Offices went on with Impunity,

And in order to fortify themselves the better, they thought of courting the Friendship of the Duke of *Milan*, at that Time, the most powerful Prince of *Italy*, against whom it was the Interest of the Commonwealth to join, or at least, to regard him with a watchful and jealous Eye; but they imagin'd he was the only Prince who was able to disturb them, and they wou'd have nothing to interrupt them in the good Work of plundering their own People.

The banish'd *Rinaldo* seeing how his Country was sunk in Figure, and in what a supplicating Manner she sought Peace and Alliances with her Neighbours, especially with the Duke of *Milan*, thought it advisable to go to *Milan*, accompany'd by several of his banish'd Friends, to endeavour

to

to hinder these Proceedings, and having desir'd an Audience of the Duke, to which he was admitted, with all his banish'd Fellow Citizens about him, he made the following Harangue.

' If we who were formerly your open Enemies, do now with Confidence supplicate your Assistance, for our Return into our own Country; neither your Highness, nor any Body else (who considers the Volubility of human Affairs, and Inconstancy of Fortune) ought at all to be surpriz'd, seeing we can give a clear and rational Account, both of our past and present Conduct, of what we formerly acted in respect of your Highness, as well as what we are now about to act in respect of our City.

' No good Man will Reproach another for defending his Country, which Way soever he defends it; nor was it ever in our Thoughts to injure you, any farther than for the Preservation of our Country; which will be evident, if you reflect, how in the greatest Stream of our Victories and Success, we no sooner found that we might with Safety to our Country make Peace with your Highness, but we embrac'd and pursued those Measures with as much Eagerness as yourself; so that as yet, we are not conscious to ourselves of any Thing which should make us Doubt of your Favour, neither can our Country in Justice complain, that we are now pressing and importuning your Highness to employ your Arms against it, since we have bravely resisted them before in its Defence ——— for that Country ought equally to be belov'd by all, which is equally indulgent to all, and not which despising the best, advances and caresses only the basest and worst.

' No Body maintains it in all Cases unlawful to bear Arms against one's Country; Cities are mix'd

' mix'd Bodies, yet have they their Resemblances
 ' with natural Bodies; and as in these many Dif-
 ' eases grow which are not to be cured without
 ' Violence, so in the other, many Times such In-
 ' conveniences arise, that a charitable and good
 ' Citizen, wou'd be more criminal to leave it un-
 ' firm, than to cure it, tho' with Amputation,
 ' and the Loss of some of its Members — What
 ' greater Distemper can befall a Body Politick,
 ' than Servitude? — And what more proper
 ' Remedy can be applied, than that which will cer-
 ' tainly cure it? — Wars are certainly just, when
 ' they are necessary; and Arms are charitable, when
 ' there is no other Hope of obtaining Justice.

' I know not what Act of Necessity can be
 ' greater than ours, nor what Act of Charity more
 ' commendable, than to *wrest our Country out of the*
 ' *Faaws of Slavery* — Our Cause being then both
 ' Just and Charitable, ought not to be slighted,
 ' either by us, or by your Highness, tho' it were
 ' only in Compassion — But your Highness has
 ' your particular Provocation besides; for the
 ' present Government of *Florence* has had the Fol-
 ' ly and Confidence, immediately after a Peace
 ' solemnly concluded with you, to enter into an
 ' Alliance with the *Genoeses*, your Enemies — So
 ' that if our Entreaties, and low Condition, shou'd
 ' be unable, yet your own just Indignation and
 ' Resentment shou'd move you especially, seeing
 ' the Enterprize is so easy.

' Let not their past Carriage discourage you —
 ' It is true, you have formerly seen their Power,
 ' as well as prov'd their great Resolution in de-
 ' fending themselves; and I confess, that both of
 ' them ought reasonably to be apprehended, were
 ' they now the same as they have been — but
 ' you will find them quite the contrary, and sunk
 ' in every respect from what they were; for
 ' what

' what Resolution, what Strength, or what Wealth
 ' can be expected in a City, which has lately cast
 ' out a great Part of its most worthy Inhabitants ?
 ' What Courage or Resistance can be expected
 ' in a People who are at Variance among them-
 ' selves, and live in Hatred and Enmity with their
 ' Governors ? ——— Which Hatred and Enmity,
 ' are the Causes that the little Treasure which is left
 ' among them, is not employ'd as formerly to the
 ' *Uses of the Commonwealth*, and consider what must
 ' be the End of such a Condition ! Men do freely
 ' open their Purse, when they see the Money
 ' employ'd for the Honour and Security of their
 ' Country, in Expectation that Peace will restore,
 ' what War has devoured ; but *when in War and*
 ' *Peace they find themselves equally oppress'd*, and under
 ' the Necessity in one, of enduring the Outrages
 ' of their Enemies, and in the other of trucking
 ' and bending under the more cruel *Influence of*
 ' *their Governors* : No Body will supply or advance
 ' one Farthing towards the Support or Relief of
 ' that Government, except what is extorted from
 ' them by the Severity of Laws.

' Such at present, is the melancholy Condition
 ' of *Florence* ; and where-ever it happens, it is cer-
 ' tain, the People suffer much more by the Avarice
 ' of their Friends, than by the Rapacity of their
 ' Enemies, and their Situation is much more to be
 ' lamented ; for in the last Case, they have Hopes
 ' their Sufferings will be but short, and that they
 ' shall soon see an End of them ; but in the other,
 ' they have nothing before them but Despair.

' In your last War with *Florence*, you took up
 ' Arms against an intire and united City ; in
 ' this you will have to do only with a Remnant,
 ' and that the most contemptible ——— Then you
 ' attempted upon the Liberty of the City, but
 ' now you *will endeavour to restore it* ; and it is

not at all to be apprehended, that in such a Disparity of Causes, the Success shou'd be the same; nay, rather, I may venture to affirm, that your Victory is certain, and what a Strength and Advantage this will bring to your own State, you can well judge; for all *Tuscany* will be greatly oblig'd to you thereby, and think itself bound to serve you in your just Designs, as much as *Milan* itself. So that tho' formerly this Enterprize might be look'd upon as a Usurpation and Violence, it will be now esteem'd a high Piece of Justice and Charity.

Suffer not therefore this Opportunity to slip thro' your Hands; and be assur'd, that if your other Expeditions against *Florence* have produc'd nothing but Expence, Difficulty, Dishonour, and Disappointment, this will make you ample Amends, and with little Hazard, turn to your great Honour and Advantage.



SATURDAY, Oct. 11, 1729.

Mr. Fog,



HAVING by Chance seen a *Whig Paper* of the 11th of last Month (for as I don't deal in Politicks, I very rarely read the daily News Papers) I found a long Letter by Way of Advertisement at the End of it, written, it seems, by a Person who is about to publish a History of *England* since the Union of the Crowns.

I shall not Trouble myself with Peoples Impatience for this Book's coming out, nor with their Dis-

Disappointment when it does come out; for if it be no truer, nor written with a better Design, than *Burnet's History* of his own Time, it will justly meet the same Fate, and be despised by all Lovers of Truth and Honesty.

I shall not enquire how the Publick came to be so well acquainted with his Design, as to *alter his Title*, if it be true that they have done so; nor by what Means they found out that he intends his Book as a *Reflection on the Weakness and Frailties of the Family of the STUARTS*.

But, Mr. Fog, my Quarrel to the Letter, is, his bringing you and others in, as labouring to *blanch the Characters of those Kings*, (he means King *James the First*, and his Descendants) there being nothing (as they would persuade us) to endear them to you, and then his adding, that you did this out of Disrespect to that good King who has a Right to our *Allegiance and Duty*.

Pray, Mr. Fog, can you guess what good King he means? If it be King *George*, (as sure he has not the Impudence to mean any other) the Author is mad ——— For wou'd he insinuate, that King *George* is lawful King of *Great Britain*, by a Right altogether independant of his Relation to the Family of the *STUARTS*?

Sure nothing can look more like a Plot against the Person and Government of the King who at present reigns over us.

We hear there was a worthy *Vicar in Essex*, who upon the First of *August*, with great *Zeal and Intrepidity*, burn'd the Picture of her late Majesty Queen *ANN* (an illustrious Instance of his Gratitude for her great Affection, and Care for the Clergy) and when some Persons of his Acquaintance desired to know of him what might be his Design in performing this heroick Action, he had the Folly and Impudence to insinuate, that

his Reason for shewing that Disrespect to the Memory of that *entirely English Queen*, was in order to be taken Notice of by some Persons in great Power, and to recommend himself to Preferment.

It is by such Tricks and Artifices; that the Enemies of our Constitution endeavour to make the present Royal Family *look little* in the Eyes of the People; the People who may be sometimes led away from Truth by bold and impudent Suggestions—But, no doubt, Mr. *Fog*, such a wise Prince as now sits upon the Throne, will see thro' this Plot, and put a *Stigma* upon those, who wou'd make the World believe, that he employs such Persons in the greatest Offices, and highest Trust about him, who publickly encourage a Disrespect to be shewn to that Family, to which he has the Honour, and Happiness to be related, and from which principally derives his Title to the Crowns.

Suppose, Mr. *Fog*, that you were made General of the Army, and some little sorry Fellow of a Subaltern, thinking to work himself into your Favour, and gain some higher Preferment, should take it into his Head to compliment you in such a Speech as this to the Soldiers:

Gentlemen of the Army,

Our most worthy and illustrious General, Mr. *Fog*, who is now set over us, as far transcends all our former Generals, as the Duke of *Marlborough* did the little Earl of *G—y*, and therefore you have all the Reason in the World to depend upon his known Conduct and Bravery; and you ought to obey him without asking any Questions; for, you must know, he is preferr'd to this high Post, because he is descended of a Family, who when they possess'd it, always ruin'd and destroy'd the Army by their Folly and Cowardice—I might dwell long upon his great personal Qualifications, but

but I chuse to wave them, and only attend to speak of the Vices of his Ancestors; for his great Grand-fire, and all the Family downwards from whom he derives, were a Parcel of Indolent, lazy, worthless People, altogether unqualify'd for Command; and I hope, Gentlemen, this will be sufficient to render you pleas'd with his Person, and to make you obedient to his Will and Pleasure; and I wou'd advise all those who have a Mind to make their Court to certain great Persons in Power and Command under him, to begin it by abusing his Ancestors, and all their Descendants, as you see me do.

Wou'd not you think this a very preposterous Way of recommending you to the Esteem and Affection of the Soldiery? And that this little Fellow was either mad, or had some dangerous Design in his Head against you?—And can our Author, or his Friend the *Vicar of Essex*, be so weak to think of recommending themselves to our present gracious Sovereign, or to any in Power or Trust about him, by abusing the Family of the *STUARTS*?

Such Men must sure be Strangers to the known Generosity and Courage of our King; a Prince so eminently endow'd with those Qualities, can take no Pleasure in such base, as well as false Aspersions upon a Family to which he owes his Being and his Crown; and therefore, if the Laws of *England* are so defective, as not to be able to punish such Despisers of Majesty, I make no Doubt, but some Law will be propos'd by our present wise and able Ministers next Sessions of Parliament, in order to teach *little Rogues* better Manners.

But our Author says in his Letter, that the People of *England* have been these hundred Years past, *thirsting after the Descendants of the Queen of Bohemia*

Bohemia (King James the First's Daughter)—a hundred Years! which must include the Reigns of King Charles the First, and King Charles the Second, to whom our Ancestors were sworn, so that we are much oblig'd to this Author for representing us as prejur'd Rebels in our Hearts before, &c. *Hic desit aliquot.*

But I believe the Author's Vouchers for this Piece of Secret History, are much the same with his Friend B——t's, for some Truths which he asserts, viz. certain Letters and Papers, which no Body ever saw but himself——And why may not our Author have as fertile a Brain as the B——p?

I applaud his Design of retiring very soon after the Publication of his History——but wou'd it not be better and safer for him to die (in Imitation of his great Exemplar) before his Book comes out? For altho' I know nothing of it, yet from some Hints given in his Letter, *I smell a Rat*; but I shall detain you no longer.

Yours,

PHILO-STUARTUS.



SATUR-



SATURDAY, Nov. 8, 1729.



Can never forbear commiserating the deplorable State of that Commonwealth where every Part of Government is *administer'd* by Corruption, and the more I read of the Fate of those Nations who have labour'd under those unhappy Circumstances, the more I'm convinced that where-ever it happens again, Ruin and Misery must be the wretched Inheritance of that People.

Where-ever this Mischief finds Entrance, its Progress is generally quick; at first it acts in private and is ashamed to shew its Face, but if the Men in the Administration of publick Affairs are tainted with it, if the Business of Government is carried on by it, it grows bold and open; they find Means of keeping themselves in Countenance by increasing their Numbers, and as all the *vile* and *base* join themselves with them, they form a Party — Then it is that Corruption becomes the *Criterion* of all Merit, it is consider'd by them like Charity among good Christians, *it covers a Multitude of Sins* — If you were to make Objections against the Conduct of this or that Minister, and produce Instances of their Bungling and their Ignorance, or by Proofs demonstrate the Incapacity of any one for the Business of the State, the corrupt Party would make a Scoff of all this, as if all that amounted to nothing, if you could not deny, that he would both *give and take a Bribe*.

In

In the Commonwealth of *Florence* the Nobility were totally corrupted, which occasion'd innumerable Distractions amongst the People — Tumults and Riots there were, as is natural where People are oppress'd, and the Flatterers of the base Senators treated those who had any Concern for their Country as wicked and perjured Rebels (forsooth) for being Enemies to the *excellent Administration*.

It happen'd that the People being assembled, as they often were, and discoursing of the Miseries of the Times, the Senate being then sitting, they went in a Body to them, and one of the most Antient amongst them made the following Speech :

Most magnificent Lords,

“ There are some amongst us who doubted whether our assembling in this Manner, without any publick Order, might not render us suspected of Ambition ; but we knew, at the same Time, that there are some particular Persons in this City who daily meet, and confer, with no other View but to concert Measures for oppressing their Fellow Citizens ; and therefore we concluded, if they are allow'd to meet, only to conspire against the Liberties of their Country, we whose Designs tends only to its Preservation ought to be freed from all Reproof.

“ The Love we bear our Country, *Most magnificent Lords*, is what has occasion'd of late such frequent Assemblies of the People, and it is that which now induces us to present ourselves before you to remonstrate the Hardships and Grievances under which we lie, and to offer our Assistance to remove them.

“ Perhaps this may appear a difficult Enterprize, (considering how far we are sunk in Corruption) yet we need not despair of Success, if your Lordships, laying aside your *own private Interests*, wou'd

“ be

" be pleas'd a little to exert your Authority for the
 " Publick Good.

" The Corruption of other Cities in *Italy* has
 " vitiated ours; and since *Italy* has thrown off the
 " Authority of the *Roman Emperors*, our City as
 " well as some others has created Governors, and
 " ordain'd Laws, not as free Men, but to serve the
 " private Ends of that Faction which happen'd
 " to be uppermost; and this is the Fountain from
 " whence spring all our present Disorders.

" For when we come to examine the Manners of
 " the Age, do we not find that there is scarce any
 " such Thing as Friendship or Integrity left among
 " the Citizens; there is indeed a Union amongst
 " those whose Wickedness obliges them to be a
 " while faithful to each other, because they are
 " engaged together in Designs against the Liberties
 " of their Fellow Citizens; but even this lasts not
 " long, for certain it is, where-ever a base Faction
 " prevails and depresses the Advocates of Liberty
 " beyond all Power of Opposition it will of Necess-
 " sity subdivide, and at last fall out within itself;
 " and thus we see it has happen'd in this City with
 " the *Bianchi* and the *Neri* some Time since, and
 " the Case is the very same at this Hour betwixt the
 " *FURFANTI*, and the *BLUNDERINI*, two Families
 " nearly allied by Marriage.—

" Is there a Man in this Senate, or in all this
 " Crowd of People, but what is convinced in his
 " own Conscience, that the present low and con-
 " temptible Condition of this Commonwealth is
 " intirely owing to the united Counsels of the Per-
 " sons last named? Yet with what Harmony and
 " good Understanding have we seen the *FURFANTI*
 " and *BLUNDERINI* go Hand in Hand as long
 " as any Mischief was carrying on against us;
 " but now that they have divided us amongst them;
 " and all the numerous Branches of their worthless
 " Families

“ Families are grown great and wealthy by our
 “ Miseries, they are fallen to Pieces amongst them-
 “ selves.

“ But how should it be otherwise, when we
 “ consider with what Industry all Kinds of Base-
 “ ness has of late been cultivated amongst us?—
 “ Religion, and the Fear of God are utterly extin-
 “ guish’d ——— Promises and Oaths are no farther
 “ binding than they are profitable, they are count-
 “ ed of no Use but to cover *Frauds*, which are
 “ esteem’d honourable if they are attended with a
 “ great deal of Profit ——— Knaves are set up for
 “ Men of Parts merely for being Knaves, and
 “ those who disdain such Practices, are talk’d of
 “ as *Fools*.

“ Certain it is, there is no kind of Corruption but
 “ may at this Day be found in *Italy*, nor are there
 “ any People so unhappily adapted to receive it, as
 “ the *Florentines* ——— The young Men of late are
 “ grown idle, effeminate, and ignorant; the old Men
 “ avaricious and lascivious; and, in fine, all Ages
 “ and all Sexes full of licentious Brutality above
 “ the Correction of the Laws; so that the Ambition
 “ which possesses them, is not an Ambition of
 “ true Glory, but of dishonourable Preferment —
 “ this occasions Hatred and Enmity in the People
 “ against those in *Office*, and this Hatred and Enmi-
 “ ty is again reveng’d by the Execution or Banish-
 “ ment of the most popular and worthy of the Citi-
 “ zens; so that good Men depending upon their In-
 “ nocence, and not looking abroad for any thing
 “ extraordinary either to advance, or defend them-
 “ selves, often fall the Sacrifice of UPSTARTS; and
 “ what is most provoking, and renders our Condition
 “ still more deplorable, is to behold the Work-
 “ ers of these Mischiefs gilding and decking them-
 “ selves with illustrious Titles, as if a Word added
 “ to a Man’s Name, or a Piece of Ribbon tack’d to
 “ his

“ his Tail could consecrate the Villany of an infamous Action.

“ *Heaven* (no doubt) has ordained that Nothing which is human should be perpetual, and therefore in all States and Governments, it now and then permits some *fatal Families* to spring up for their Ruin and Destruction. Of this, our *City* can afford more melancholy Examples than any of its Neighbours. But what need we go farther for Instances than the present Times? for sure we cannot think of the Administration of the *FURFANTI* and the *BLUNDERINI* without some Apprehensions that the divine Providence has quite forsaken us. Is it not strange that Persons of so little Credit and Interest among their Fellow Citizens should grow so *bulky*? but this is one of the Plagues of all Cities which are governed by Faction. When the *GUERLPHS* (within the Memories of all here present) had prevail'd over the *GHIBELINES*, all their Councils and Measures tended to their own Establishment; their Chiefs were but few, and those not belov'd by the People, so that when they dropp'd off, the most forward, not the most worthy, of the Faction climb'd into their Places, and by these Means we came first to hear of the *FURFANTI*. — Yet it was natural for Men to expect that as soon as they were well fix'd in their Seats, I say, after they had secur'd themselves by the Confiscation and Banishment of many of the most noble of the *GHIBELINES*, they wou'd have turn'd their Thoughts a little towards the Concerns of the Commonwealth; but how fondly did we deceive ourselves! and what a different Scene have we beheld, or rather have we felt! For while the *FURFANTI* have been projecting new Schemes, and contriving a thousand fresh Pretences and

“ Artifices

" Artifices to draw our Money into their own
 " Coffers, the BLUNDERINI have been negotiating
 " away our Interests with the neighbouring Ci-
 " ties, that what betwixt one and the other, even
 " the Affairs of *Peace, War, and Alliances* have
 " been transacted as if they were only the private
 " Concerns of two particular Families, so that up-
 " on an impartial View of our present hard Cir-
 " cumstances both within and without, we may
 " truly pronounce, *QUOD NON FECERET FURFAN-*
 " *TI, FECERE BLUNDERINI.*

" But now we are told that these Men are *sepa-*
 " *rately* and in private, caballing with some Citizens,
 " in order to assure themselves of certain consider-
 " able *Florentines* to their different Parties — But
 " how *shameful* and *ridiculous* a Thing would it be to
 " see a Citizen of *Florence* engag'd in the private
 " Quarrels of such Men! For let their Designs be
 " what they will, for or against each other, we are
 " sure they mean no Good to us, and therefore if
 " the FURFANTI shou'd get the better of the
 " BLUNDERINI, we must expect to be oppress'd
 " and fleec'd again at Home, and if the BLUNDE-
 " RINI shou'd prevail over the FURFANTI, we
 " shall as certainly be sacrific'd abroad, and if
 " they shou'd run into each others Arms, and be
 " again reconcil'd, both the one and the other will
 " be our Lot, so that we hope (instead of support-
 " ing one Side or other) every *Florentine* will do his
 " Endeavour to bring both to the Punishment
 " justly due to their Crimes.

" I speak (*most magnificent Lords*) the Sense of the
 " vast Multitude of People here before you, and I
 " hope that in thus touching upon our Grievances,
 " I have not traced Matters so far as to *upbraid*
 " any of our noble Senate, I have only hinted at
 " the Causes, that your Lordships may understand
 " they are *uppermost* in our Memories, as (we
 " hope)

" hope) they are in yours, and if the Majority of
 " this noble Senate be free from the Guilt which
 " has brought these Distresses upon us, I see no
 " Difficulty or Impediment in the Way, to hinder
 " this Commonwealth from recovering its ancient
 " Beauty, to which good Work we importune
 " you, not so much out of Revenge to the *vile In-*
 " *struments* of our Wrongs, as in Compassion to
 " ourselves and our Posterity.

" That our Corruption is great, is a Thing
 " known to the whole World; but yet I will be
 " bold to say, that it is not so much to be imputed
 " to the Nature of our People as to the Vices of the
 " Times we live in. We are of the same Disposi-
 " tions with our Ancestors, and if it be urg'd that
 " no such Disorders found Footing amongst them,
 " I conceive the Reason is plain, for the Laws were
 " faithfully executed, and good Examples were
 " shewn by the *Great*, which begat a Reverence in
 " the People towards those Governors and those
 " Laws by which they were so well protected and
 " by which good Manners were propagated thro'
 " all Ranks and Degrees of Men.

" It therefore entirely depends upon your Lord-
 " ships Example either to recover or destroy us. If
 " you should *purge the Senate*, if you should make
 " publick Examples of some *great Criminals*, you
 " will certainly check the *Infection* which has taint-
 " ed the *ministerial Parts* of our Government, and
 " we shall see the Difference betwixt LIBERTY and
 " its *empty Name*; and better it is that this Refor-
 " mation should be carried on in a calm, regular
 " Way than that this noble Senate should suffer
 " itself to be so far influenced by an *arbitrary Faction*
 " as to SCREEN such flagitious Offenders, than that
 " they should shut their Ears against the *publick*
 " *Cries*, and defer that Justice which is the *Salus*
 " VQL.I. O " Populi,

"Populi, the Life and Soul of the Common-
wealth."

THE HISS. A TALE.

Gaffer Grubb, full of Care a good Trade for his Son
To provide, sent him up to a Farrier in Town,
But the Boy was so awkward at handling his Tools,
That he spoil'd all the Iron, and wasted the Coals.

One Morning his Father call'd on him, and said,
Well, ROBIN, and how go you on in your Trade?
Can you yet make a Horse-shoe? Ay, sure; if you doubt it,
You shall see in a Minute. So BOB goes about it.
He heated the Iron, and hammer'd it o'er,
And turn'd it, and cut it, and sweated and savor'd,
Try'd this Way, and that Way, but neither would do,
The Devil a Likeness was there of a Shoe.

Plague on it, says BOB, this would make a Man mad,
These Coals are mere Rubbish; worse cannot be had.
The Bellows want mending. The Anvil's too high,
And the Head of the Hammer is set all awry.
The Iron's quite spoil'd for a Horse-shoe;—but yet
A Hob-Nail out of it I'm sure I can get.

So to it he goes, beats and hammers again,
To bring forth a Hob-Nail, but all was in vain.
Quoth ROBIN, with such cursed Tongs, it is past
The Skill of a Farrier to hold a Nail fast.
Howe'er, I'm resolv'd to make something of this;
If it won't make a Horse-Shoe, it shall make a Hiss.
A Hiss! what's that? You shall quickly see what.
The untractable Iron he once more makes hot,
And throwing it into the Water it made
A Hiss, as it sunk. Gaffer Grubb shook his Head,
Ah, Robin! says he, I perceive, before George,
That Noddle of thine will ne'er do for a Forge.

SATUR-



SATURDAY, Nov. 29, 1729.



It is a common Saying, that in Love and War, *all Advantages are fair*; and one wou'd think the Writers of the present Age were of the same Opinion in Respect to political Disputes, for we observe when one Side is press'd hard in Argument, and the Merit of the Cause appears plainly against them, the defeated Party calls upon the Government for Seconds, they cover themselves with the Names of some Persons in great Power, where being intrench'd, they expect the Antagonist will be afraid to pursue them.

Every Man has seen this practis'd once a Week for three Weeks past, by the Writers of a certain Party: But this is not all, for the same Methods are taken in Religious Controversy, and all the Advocates of Infidelity brag of their Zeal and Attachment to the Ministry, as a Proof of their sound Doctrine.

Many have been the Attacks which of late Years have been made upon the Christian Religion, and this is the Knock-down Argument in them all; nay, some of the Writers on that Side have gone so far as to represent all good Christians as disaffected to the Government. Your *Tolands, Tindals, Collins's, &c.* have made loud Professions of Revolution Principles, nor is there an Antitrinitarian, Deist, Socinian, Atheist, Stockjobber, Projector, or common C——, but what (if you'll take their own Words) is a staunch Whigg.

The present *Bishop of St. David's* indeed has endeavour'd to take off the Mask from these Impositions, to expose these Wolves in Sheep's Cloathing, and to convince the World that such Men are Enemies to all Governments whatsoever, for in his Answer to Mr. *Woolston*, he says that *such Men endeavour to sap the Foundation of all Government, and are always pursuing such Methods as have a natural Tendency to introduce Confusion.*

But Mr. *Woolston* takes the same Method of Defence which has been practis'd by those other Writers in the same good Cause, and replies to the Bishop's Charge in these Words.

" The B—— is a wilful Calumniator, or at best
 " an unhappy Misrepresenter of me, and of other
 " Infidels—If this was true of us Infidels, (for
 " now I speak of myself as one of them) it behoves
 " Civil Governors to look about them, and to punish
 " and suppress us with all Speed; and we
 " shou'd be the most unreasonable Men alive, if
 " we complain'd of Persecution, or call'd it hard
 " Usage; and the B—— of *London*, and other Divines
 " (like this Bishop) do commonly declaim on
 " the Danger of Infidelity to civil Society, but
 " this is all Ecclesiastical Cant and Jargon—I
 " thought I had given the B—— of *London* so much
 " on this Head of Complaint against Infidelity,
 " as I cou'd not suppose the B—— of *St. David's*
 " wou'd ever have repeated it—It is true what
 " the B—— says, that *Religion is the firmest Support*
 " *of Government, and Christianity especially lays the*
 " *greatest Obligations on Men's Consciences of Obedience*
 " *to the Civil Powers*——I believe all this, and
 " that the better Christians Men are, the more
 " quiet, peaceable and useful Subjects, and the
 " greater Friends would they be to the Civil Authority——But does it follow from hence, that
 " *we Infidels*, because we have rejected the Belief
 " of

“ of some Systematical Divinity as the Clergy are
 “ fond of, thou’d consequently be Enemies to the
 “ Civil Government and Foes to the Peace, Order
 “ and Welfare of Society?— Oh! Fie upon the
 “ Drawers of such Consequences! We are, I be-
 “ lieve, a numerous and growing Sect in these
 “ Nations, though I am acquainted with none,
 “ no, not so much as with the great Mr. *Grounds*;
 “ but I cou’d never perceive that any of us in Prin-
 “ ciple were against Civil Government, and the
 “ Welfare of Community; or were for Confusion,
 “ or setting the People together by the Ears, to
 “ the Disturbance of the publick Peace and Tran-
 “ quillity; No, no, our Interests in the World, as
 “ well as other Men’s, obliges us to consult the
 “ publick Welfare, and our Consciences from the
 “ Religion of Nature bind us to Obedience to Go-
 “ vernment; and was it not agreeable to our In-
 “ clination, the Necessity of Affairs wou’d oblige
 “ us to be as quiet and obedient as are any Chris-
 “ tians; and I thank God we have hitherto be-
 “ haved ourselves very peaceably, clear of all
 “ Suspicion of Treason and Rebellion to any
 “ Prince or State— The Bishop hints at Expe-
 “ rience to the contrary, but it will puzzle him
 “ to give one Instance.

Thus far Mr. *Woolston*’s Defence is general, but a little farther he in a more particular Manner replies to the Bishop’s Accusation of that Disaffection with which he charges all Infidels— It will be best to deliver his own Words.

“ The Bishop calumniates us Infidels not only
 “ for being Enemies to Government in general,
 “ which he will have us to advance Principles de-
 “ structive of, but insinuates and asserts that we are
 “ disaffected to the particular and present Govern-
 “ ment of these Kingdoms, saying, that as we are
 “ active in propogating Infidelity, we do in the

“ last Resort, not only insult the Title of Defender
 “ of the Faith, but undermine the undoubted Right
 “ of his Majesty and his Royal Family to the Crown
 “ of these Realms, as it is founded on the Pro-
 “ fession of Christianity reform’d, and now regally
 “ settled among us; and therefore Persons of that
 “ Character may well be consider’d as equally false
 “ to the Author of our Faith and to the present
 “ Government — Therefore in a just Sense of that
 “ Allegiance which is due to the King, and for the
 “ Security of their Majesties, and the Royal Fa-
 “ mily, and thereby of the Publick itself, as well
 “ as out of a deep Concern for the Honour and Pre-
 “ servation of our most holy Faith, the ensuing
 “ Treatise is now offer’d, under her Majesty’s Pro-
 “ tection, to the View of the Publick.

“ This is all such foolish and manifest Slander,
 “ that I can’t but think the Bishop mad with Rage
 “ and Indignation with me when he wrote it —
 “ I dare say the Queen, who is firmly attach’d to
 “ the Interest of the Christian and Protestant Reli-
 “ gion, did, when she read all this, almost grieve
 “ for the Bishop, and pity him for his Weakness
 “ and Ignorance. — It is a Maxim among all Par-
 “ ties, that Infidels are heartily affected to the pre-
 “ sent Establishment of the State, yea so far a
 “ Maxim, that Jacobites and High-Church-Men
 “ are apt to accuse all the well affected to the Go-
 “ vernment of Infidelity — From none of the
 “ Writings or Practice of Infidels, much less of
 “ myself, could the B — gather any of these his
 “ childish Surmizes. — The Government, since the
 “ Succession of the illustrious House of *Hanover*, has
 “ been twice attempted to be disturbed, and both
 “ Times by profess’d Christians. — The Rebellion
 “ of *Preston* consisted of Papists and High-Church-
 “ Men, and tho’ there were but few Clergymen
 “ in Arms, yet they were join’d with the Prayers
 “ and

“ and Wishes of many thousands of the Clergy,
 “ and even, as it was suspected, of some *Oxonian*
 “ Bishops — Bishop *Atterbury*'s Plot too consisted
 “ of rebellious Christians, without the least Inter-
 “ mixture of us Infidels, who are the more zealously
 “ affected to the Government, because of the Dan-
 “ ger it is sometimes in from the High-Church
 “ Clergy — Away then with that B——'s Slander,
 “ which, for all we may be Unbelievers of Christi-
 “ anity, our Civil Magistrates will laugh at and
 “ deride him for.

And in another Place Mr. *Woolston* taking Notice
 of the B——'s Slander (as he is pleas'd to stile it)
 in reproaching the Infidels as Enemies to the pre-
 sent Establishment, adds — “ But whether there
 “ is any one that thinks he (meaning the B——)
 “ has not greatly injured Infidels, and made a false
 “ Representation of them, for being Enemies to our
 “ Civil Government, and to our present Establish-
 “ ment, can't sure be question'd — If he be not
 “ looked upon here by all Mankind as a wilful and
 “ malicious Misrepresenter of them, I shall much
 “ wonder at it.

Methinks it would be worth considering how just
 the Pretensions of the Infidels may be on this Ac-
 count, and why they shou'd assume to themselves
 the Glory and Merit of being so strongly attach'd
 to the present Royal Family, by representing the
 High-Church Party as disaffected and rebellious—
 Is not this an unparalell'd Confidence in an Infidel
 who is labouring might and main to subvert the
 Establishment of a Church which is shelter'd un-
 der the Wings, and nourish'd by the benign In-
 fluence of that illustrious House? At a Time too
 when no Christian Church in the World is bless'd
 with such a Set of pious, disinterested and Ortho-
 dox Bishops.

I say,

I say, is it to be accounted for, upon considering the many Benefits and Advantages accruing to the Christian Religion, and particularly to the Church of *England* by the present happy Establishment, that the *High-Church Party* shou'd be such arrant *Rebels*, and the Infidels such zealous and steady Friends to the present Government as this Author wou'd represent? — A strong Paradox! where is the Resemblance betwixt Revolution Principles and Infidelity.

But Mr. *Woodston* seems to have no better an Opinion of the Political Principles of our present Set of Bishops, than he has of those of the Tories and High Fliers; he pronounces the latter to be disaffected without giving us any Reason for their being so, and the former he represents as well affected to the Government no farther than they can get by it; for observe what he says in his Dedication of the Defence of his Discourses on Miracles, to her present Majesty.

“ But the Bishop, Madam, has done me Wrong; he wou'd insinuate that I am disaffected to the King's Title and Government; which is intirely false. I love and honour your whole Royal Family, and often pray for your Majesty too, WITHOUT PAY, which is more than any Bishop in *England* has done for you.

What can all this amount to, but an Endeavour to possess the World with an Opinion, that our present Set of Bishops would not so much as pray for the present Royal Family without being paid for it? And of Consequence that they would do as much for any other King or Government in the World for the like Considerations; or that, like *Swiss*, they would serve where-ever they could find the best Pay.

It is time to oppose such Insinuations, lest they should obtain Credit with the unthinking Multitude, or (which would be much worse) lest the Belief of them should run much higher, for then the Consequence

quence might be, that we shou'd see nothing but *Infidels* prelide both in Church and State.

If Mr. *Woolston* cou'd be able to persuade some great Persons that an *Infidel* wou'd make a must better *Bishop* than a Christian, that is, I mean, a better for the Interest of the present Government, he might flatter himself that he shou'd shortly loll in an Ecclesiastical Coach and Six; but as I presume he will never be able to do that, he may pray on for Nothing (as he pretends he has hitherto done) and very likely Nothing will come of it, for I never yet heard of any Miracle brought about by the Prayers of *Infidels*.

But if we shou'd, for Argument's Sake, allow what Mr. *Woolston* advances to be true, concerning the Adherence of *Infidels* to our present happy Establishment, we may be allowed to ask, What Advantages have the People receiv'd from it? or how is the Prosperity of the Kingdom advanced thereby? Are we more rich, more wise, or more honest than we were before? or does the Nation make a greater Figure amongst its Neighbours than it did at Times when *Infidels* were disaffected? I have heard of no remarkable Blessing lately fall'n upon this Nation, except the glorious Peace newly concluded with *Spain*, and sure Mr. *Woolston* will not be so far reconciled to Miracles as to pretend that this was brought to pass by the Prayers of *Infidels*.





SATURDAY, Dec. 6, 1729.

THE HISTORY of the FURFANTI and the BLUNDERINI continued. Translated from Italian.



THE Commotions of the People, and the Speech made by one of their Body, in a full Assembly of the Senate, produced more and greater Consequences than were at first apprehended by the corrupt, or hoped for by the honest Part of the City.

Flourice had made a principal Figure among the States of *Italy*; she continued to support herself in that Rank, when the whole Administration of her Affairs devolved upon the *Furfanti* and the *Blunderini*, by the too great Indulgence of her *Gonsaloniers*, the Force of Party, the Deaths of several eminent Citizens, who stood in Opposition to these two pernicious Factions, and a Concurrence of divers other Accidents. From the Time when this happen'd, the flourishing Condition of the Commonwealth began to decay apace; the *Florentines* soon found themselves in the utmost Distress at home, and Contempt abroad.

This fatal Change could be justly ascribed to none but the *Furfanti* and *Blunderini*, since they and they alone had the Direction of publick Affairs. In private Conversation, no Man presumed to justify, and very few pretended even to excuse their Crimes

or

or their *Follies*, yet the weakest and wickedest Administration which *Florence* had ever seen, was maintain'd by the Votes of a numerous Majority, in a certain Place, not a single Man of whom could be prevail'd upon to plead for it any where else.

The Reasons of this Conduct were accounted for in the *Speech* above related. But these Reasons, as prevalent as they were, yielded at last to the loud Complaints of the People, who daily demanded Redress of Grievances, a strict Inquisition into the Management of publick Affairs, and Justice against *those Offenders*.

The *Fursanti* and the *Blunderini* therefore began now to think themselves in Danger: They foresaw that their *Union* would not be able to defend them any longer against an injur'd and exasperated People.

Each Party therefore resolv'd to save itself, if possible, at the Expence of the other. The *Fursanti* accused the *Blunderini* of *Incapacity* and *Presumption*. The *Blunderini* return'd the Charge by accusing the *Fursanti* of *corrupting* and being *corrupted*, of *insatiable Avarice* and *Ambition*.

These mutual Accusations were convey'd for a while in Whispers from Ear to Ear. Some Bickerings happen'd afterwards between them in the *Senate*; and the Debate bearing, one Day, extremly hard on both, the Chief of the *Fursanti* thought it time to break openly and directly with the Chief of the *Blunderini*. He trusted much to a certain Volubility of Tongue, which pass'd for *Eloquence*, in those Days, at *Florence*; and rising up, with *Impudence* in his Face, *Insolence* in his Manner, and *Fear* in his Heart, he spoke to this Effect.

Most Magnificent Lords,

" I shall take Leave to begin by lamenting the
 " unparalell'd Hardship of my Fate. Thro' the
 " whole Course of a long, and I hope, not inglori-
 " rous

" rious Administration, the principal Difficulty
 " which I have had to struggle with, has been
 " the daily, nay the almost hourly Drudgery of
 " preventing or correcting the Blunders of *one Man*.
 " I have often succeeded in it, and have happily
 " check'd that over-bearing Passion for *Negotiations*
 " of every Kind, with which his ill Fortune and
 " ours had inspir'd him. Sometimes indeed this
 " has not been in my Power. He has taken the
 " Opportunity, when he has found himself at a
 " *Distance* from me, and has entangled, in the Space
 " of a few Weeks, what your Lordships will find
 " that twice as many Years are not sufficient to se-
 " parate and bring again into Order. And now,
 " *my Lords*, shall I be allow'd no Claim to Merit,
 " on Account of the Mischief I have hindred ?
 " Shall that which I could not hinder be charged
 " upon me ? Far be this from your Lordships Ju-
 " stice !

" But that I may dwell no longer in *Generals*,
 " and yet not tire your Lordships by descending
 " into many *Particulars*, I shall content myself
 " with recalling to your Remembrance a *famous*
 " *Treaty* made by *Blunderini* not many Years since ;
 " the Consequences of which have driven us into
 " that Labyrinth of Difficulties, out of which I
 " apprehend that we shall not be soon delivered,
 " tho' *Sporcarillo Fursanti* hold the Clue, in Con-
 " cert with our trusty Agent the Cardinal de *Flo-*
 " *ribus*.

" Many of your *Lordships* can bear me witness
 " that I knew nothing of *this Treaty*, till it was too
 " late to prevent it ; and that I declared against it
 " as soon as I became acquainted with it. Yet the
 " *Treaty* being made by *Powers* which could nei-
 " ther be revoked nor denied, I resolv'd, for the
 " Honour of the Government, to support Measures
 " I did not approve ; but it was easy to foresee
 " how

" how hardly the People of *Florence* would be
 " drawn in to do the same; and what Jealousies
 " and Uneasiness they would conceive, when they
 " observed no Motives adequate to the Engage-
 " ments into which we enter'd. What could
 " alone be done, I did in this Case; I encourag'd,
 " I improv'd, I manag'd the Rumours which were
 " spread, of Dangers arising to this State, in so
 " ministerial a Manner, that groundless as they
 " were, they maintain'd their Credit long enough
 " to give a plausible Reason for *this Treaty*, and
 " to draw the People into Resolutions which might
 " answer all the apparent and secret Purposes of
 " it. Having secured this Point, and prevented
 " any Appearance of a Division of Councils at
 " home, I judg'd it necessary to take the further
 " Negotiations, relative to *this Treaty*, out of the
 " Hands of *Blunderini*, and to throw them into
 " those of *Sporcavillo Fursanti*, that he might, as I
 " doubt not he will, if the publick Impatience al-
 " low him but *eight* or *ten* Years more to work in,
 " and calm the Spirit of *War*, reconcile the *Ani-*
 " *mosities*, and destroy the *Prejudices*, which *this*
 " *Treaty*, and the Proceedings necessary upon it
 " have rais'd.

" This short Deduction may serve to shew your
 " *Lordships* how careful I have been to prevent,
 " to the utmost of my Power, that unfortunate Si-
 " tuation into which we are brought, and of which
 " such loud Complaints are made.

" But alas! *my Lords*, *Blunderini's* Negotiations
 " are like the Heads of *Hydra*; as soon as one is
 " lopp'd off, a multitude of others start up, and
 " notwithstanding all my Endeavours, it must be
 " confess'd, that, by *innumerable Treaties* and *Con-*
 " *ventions*, for better settling and securing the
 " Tranquility of *Italy*, we have brought Affairs
 " into greater Confusion than ever. It must be
 " Vol. I. P. " con-

" confessed that we have frequently taken Engage-
 " ments without, nay against our Interest; and
 " that these Engagements are multiply'd to such a
 " Degree, that the Treasure of the State must be
 " exhausted; and the Blood of our People spilt,
 " whenever any ~~two~~ *Barons*, in any Part of *Italy*,
 " shall quarrel about the Limits of their *little Ter-*
 " *ritories*, or any trifling Complaints of their *Vassals*.
 " Nay, *my Lords*, we are become even a Province
 " to *San Marino*; and are obliged blindly to enter
 " into all the Quarrels of that small, barren, con-
 " temptible Republick. It must be confess'd like-
 " wise, that while we have been thus impertinent-
 " ly busy in Affairs either below our Regard, or
 " foreign to our Interest, our *Manufactures* have
 " decay'd, our *Specie* has been, in some Degree,
 " drain'd from us; The *Genoese*, the People of
 " *Pisa*, and others of our Neighbours, have divert-
 " ed the *Trade* of this Country into their Channels,
 " and to conclude, our *Debts* have been increas'd,
 " notwithstanding the *large Provisions* for their Re-
 " ductions. Yes, *my Lords*, those *Funds*, the
 " Merit of *aggregating* which, for paying the Debts
 " of the State, I so justly assume to myself alone,
 " (tho' the Plan was indeed laid by another, and
 " before my Time.) Those *Funds*, I say, which
 " I reserv'd to draw my Country out of *Debts*
 " *formerly contracted*, have only served as an En-
 " couragement to plunge her into *new ones*.

" If your *Lordsships* are prepared to go about re-
 " dressing these Grievances, let me beg leave to
 " co-operate most heartily with you. I, who have
 " been so long employ'd to prevent them, may
 " be of some Use to redress them; and I assure
 " myself that in all Events I shall not be made
 " *answerable* for them.

" No

" No, my Lords, the *Revenue*, and other *Domestick*
 " Affairs of the Common-Wealth, are my peculiar
 " Province; and for *them*, my Lords, I am ready
 " and desirous to answer.

" Here I may challenge *the most powerful, the most*
 " *intemperate of my Opposers, to produce Proof of so much*
 " *as one Action, in the whole Course of my Admi-*
 " *nistration that has not been consistent with the Honour*
 " *and Good of Florence. Cast your Eyes, my Lords,*
 " *at Home:* How different will the Prospect appear
 " from that, which presents itself to you when you
 " look *Abroad?* All is troubled and confused
 " *Abroad!* I know, I lament it. All is calm and
 " *secure at Home.* I Affirm it, and your Lordships
 " have often taken my *Affirmation* for Proof before
 " now. I pride myself in it. How immense our
 " *Wealth?* How flourishing our *Credit?* what *Har-*
 " *mony* has hitherto subsisted in our *Councils of State,*
 " and in our *Companies of Commerce?* What *Unani-*
 " *mity* (for I reckon not for any thing the *Clamours*
 " of a *despicable Minority*) hath constantly appeared
 " in this *August Assembly?* If these are *Publick Bene-*
 " *fits*, they are due to *me*, and none but a *Blun-*
 " *derini* or a *Ghibelline* will presume to deny it.

" After I have said This, my Lords, I shall rest as-
 " sured that I stand fair in your Opinion.

FURFANTE had no sooner finished his Harangue, but
 BLUNDERINI started up, and with loud Vocifera-
 tion express'd himself in the following Manner.

Most magnificent Lords,

" T H O' I have had a long Experience of Fur-
 " fante's Treachery, and of the little Regard
 " which he pays to those Things which all other
 " Men esteem sacred, yet I did not expect that he
 " would have gone the Lengths which he has now

Here BLUN-
DELLINI laugh'd
heartily.

" done. My Lords, I am glad of
" it. He thought to expose me, and
" he has given me Occasion to shew
" his foul Side.

" It is true my Lords, that I have negotiated
" in the Service of this Commonwealth a great
" Number of Treaties and Conventions, more per-
" haps than all those who have preceded me in the
" same Station for above an hundred Years. But I
" hope the present distressed State of publick Affairs
" shall not be ascribed to those Treaties and Con-
" ventions: No, my Lords; the Ballance of ITALY
" has been tottering a long time, and a Volume of
" TREATIES thrown sometimes into one Scale,
" and sometimes into another, was absolutely ne-
" cessary in order to keep it as equal as might be.
" These Treaties have secured us against the GHI-
" BELLINI, and I hope I shall not be sacrificed to
" the *Furfanti* for making them. Besides, have
" they not been all approved and confirmed by
" your Lordships? Has not *Furfante* himself valued
" himself upon them? What Assurance then must he
" have who presumes to your Lordships Faces to at-
" tack those Things which have had your Sanction,
" and who disclaims those Negotiations, from the
" Success of which he has so often by himself and
" his Flatterers, in a very publick Manner claimed a

* Here BLUN-
DELLINI's Passi-
on occasion'd his
Stammering ve-
ry much.

" Share of that Merit which did not
" belong to him, *my Lords*.* Since
" he has singled out a Treaty which
" I made some Years ago when I
" was Abroad in the Service of this

" State, I am willing to join Issue with him. He
" says I took my Opportunity when I was at a Dis-
" tance from him. Many of your Lordships know
" how little Helps I have had from him when we
" were both sitting in the same Council, and how of-
" ten he has declared that he knew nothing of
" foreign

“ foreign Affairs, which is a greater Truth than any
 “ he has told you to-day. But if I was not under his
 “ watchful Eye when this Treaty was made, he
 “ would have done well to remember that I made it
 “ under the Eye of our Gonfalonier. As to the
 “ Rumours which were spread concerning imminent
 “ Dangers which threatened our Republick, (and
 “ which he calls groundless, I desire he may be
 “ judg’d out of his own Mouth. If he thinks them
 “ groundless, he deceiv’d and abus’d the whole Peo-
 “ ple of *Florence* at that Time; if he thinks them
 “ founded on Fact, he goes about to deceive and
 “ abuse your Lordships now. *My Lords*, let him
 “ take his Choice.

“ Sure I am, the Treaty was made with very
 “ good Intentions on my Part, *my Lords*, and ac-
 “ cording to the Intelligence which I then had,
 “ it was necessary. If it has plunged us into new
 “ Difficulties, if we are in a Labyrinth, as he says,
 “ let *Sporcarillo* answer for it: The Negotiations
 “ were taken out of my Hands; they were thrown
 “ into his, *my Lords*; he has bragged of it, and I am
 “ not ashamed to own it; no, not at all, *my Lords*.
 “ Now, pray, *my Lords*, what has been the Con-
 “ sequence of this Measure which *Farfante* ap-
 “ plauds himself for? Why, truly, your Interests
 “ have ever since that Time been entirely abandon-
 “ ed to the *Genoese*, the Nation, of all *Italy*,
 “ against which we ought to be the most on our
 “ Guard. *My Lords*, it has fared with us accord-
 “ ingly; we have been bantered from Day to Day;
 “ we have been fooled on from Year to Year. Are
 “ we surprized at it! Nothing could happen so desira-
 “ ble to the *Genoese* as to keep us in this Suspence:
 “ They pay their Debts, while we increase ours;
 “ their Manufactures rise in Proportion as ours de-
 “ cay; and the Ports which are shut to us are by
 “ necessary Consequence opened to them.

" Upon the whole Matter, if your Lordships are
 " pleased to enter into this Examination of the pre-
 " sent State of the *Florentine* Commonwealth, you will
 " find that one of the *Furfanti* has by his Blunders
 " and his Ignorance, his Presumptions and his
 " Avarice, ruined our Affairs Abroad, while the
 " other has, notwithstanding all he says of our
 " flourishing Condition at Home, brought real and
 " almost intolerable Poverty on the generality of
 " the People; tho' by knavish Jobs, and Expedi-
 " ents contrived from Day to Day, he keeps up an
 " Imagination of Wealth in the Minds of many,
 " who will not be undeceived perhaps till it is too
 " late. You will find that his Purse and the Pur-
 " ses of his Creatures roll like Snow-balls a-
 " bout the City, and swell by licking up all the
 " Specie in the Nation.

" *My Lords*, whenever you are pleased to enter
 " into this Examination, I shall be ready to bear
 " my Part in it; And I assure myself you will not
 " be seduced by the Artifices of the most perfidi-
 " ous Man on Earth to subject to your Censure the
 " most innocent.



SATURDAY, Dec. 20, 1729.



Certain political Author tells us that
 nothing is more mortifying to a brave
 and sensible People, than to observe
 those trusted with the Administration
 of their Affairs pursuing Measures
 directly opposite to the true Interest
 of the Kingdom; and it is still more shocking if
 they see them contributing to make another People
 great, whose Greatness must render them little.

Machiavel lays it down for a Rule which is scarce ever liable to Exception, that in Matters of Empire, *Whoever is the Cause of another's Advancement, is certainly the Cause of his own Diminution.* A Kingdom cannot rise to any considerable Power without threatening Danger to it's Neighbours — for Ambition was never known to set itself any Bounds.

A Nation therefore which continues in a State of Indolence while another is rising upon her, or (what is worse) which is drawn in to advance the Designs of some artful and designing Neighbour, discovers a most abundant *Folly* and a *mean Courage*, and nothing is more odious to the Generality of the People than this last, for the Multitude are apt to respect Valour in their Governors, even when it proves unsuccessful.

I wou'd not be understood hereby that a Commonwealth shou'd send Armies or Fleets about the World in Quest of Adventures; this would be a ridiculous Piece of Knight-Errantry; but yet there is a Bravery in Council as well as in Action, of which we might draw many Examples from our own History, particularly from the Reign of *Queen Elizabeth*, when no idle Bravadoes were used to draw the Scorn of other Nations upon us, but such a wise Resolution always exerted itself in Council, as maintain'd us in the Respect of the whole World.

But it is peculiar to weak and ignorant Governors to be timorous, wavering, and irresolute in their Councils; Peace makes them wanton, yet the Prospect of War affrights them; they change their Measures with every Quarter of the Moon; If they sound the Trumpet to Day, to-morrow they are at the Knees of their Enemy imploring Pardon.

Machiavel says, that all wise Commonwealths are very cautious of descending below their Dignities, or stooping to such Things as may give any Neighbour (with whom they may happen to be embroil'd) an Opinion of their Weakness or Want of Resolution,

on, for (says he) if the Dispute runs high, it is a wiser as well as a more honourable Course to lose any thing by open War than basely to give it up by an *ignominious Treaty*; for it always happens that those who recede from some just Pretensions, or distribute Money amongst their Neighbours thro' the Fear of entering into a War, instead of pacifying do but spirit up their Enemies against them, whose Nature commonly is such, that upon the Discovery of Fear or Impotence, their Designs grow and increase, and new Things are continually demanded; nay, such a Conduct multiplies and increases the Enemies of a State; it even invites Encroachments, and many will seek Occasions of Quarrel with her, for no other Reason but *to be bought off*.

We see that in private Life, the Man who once establishes a Reputation for Courage, lives peaceably even amongst Bullies, he is made Umpire in Points of Honour, he decides other Peoples Quarrels, but scarce ever has any of his own; while the poor pusillanimous Creature that cringes to the Man that has insulted him, is brought under Contribution by every little Bully of the Town.

I will be bold to say that the Case is the same even in the great Affairs of Empires and States, and that Nation which is quick in correcting any Power which shall presume to insult her, will never be reduced to the miserable Necessity of buying Alliances with Money, which Machiavel call a *State of Servitude*.

If I am ask'd to what Purpose are these Things urg'd, I freely answer I think no Subject can be more seasonable at the present Time, when some Men have learn'd so abject and slavish a Way of talking, as if their Country was unable to support itself by it's own Strength, and that it subsisted only at the Mercy of foreign States.

It is a dangerous Thing to the Commonwealth to quell the natural Courage of a brave People, and certain

certain I am that the Discourses of the Men I have just hinted at, have a plain Tendency that Way, for if we were to act as basely as they talk, I will own that Courage wou'd be of no Use to us, for in all Probability we should soon have Nothing left worth defending.

They tell us that any Peace is better than a War, which is the falsest as well as most cowardly Notion that ever enter'd into the Head of the most bungling Politician, and the advancing it at this Time carries an Insinuation with it highly prejudicial to the Honour of our present wise and able Administration, as it tends to possess us with a Notion that the Treaty newly concluded with *Spain*, which has cost so much Time as well as — is prejudicial to the Interest of the *English* Subjects.

As for my Part, I am no Way influenced by these Insinuations, and upon considering the present Circumstances of *Great Britain*, I am convinced that the Terms of this Peace, when they are made publick, will appear to the whole World to be advantageous and honourable for *England*. — I have said before upon another Occasion, that there is no Nation so low or contemptible but may at all Times obtain Peace if they will but submit to the Demands of their Enemies. — The *Romans* might have had Peace when *Hanibal* was at their Gates, after two or three of the greatest Overthrows that ever happen'd to them while they were a State, if they wou'd have submitted to his Terms, but their Fortitude and Honour wou'd not suffer them to do it; and such was the Generosity and Wisdom of that Commonwealth, that in all Conditions and various Changes of Fortune, under the greatest Calamities, they never receded from their Majesty and Grandeur.

I thank God *Great Britain* has undergone no such Distresses, our Fleets have sail'd *peaceably* along the
Coasts.

Coasts of our Enemies, or rode *triumphantly* in our own Roads and Harbours, and we have receiv'd no Defeat either from *Tempests* or from *Spaniards*. We have not, I say, lost one Ship of War either in our late Northern or Southern Campaigns; we can lay no Blame upon Fortune, and nothing has happen'd from the Hand of Providence to *disappoint our well concerted Projects*.

I cannot conceive therefore why Men shou'd entertain a Notion that any Article of this Treaty shou'd be inconsistent with the Honour and true Interest of *Great Britain*, for I think we are in a Condition to command such Terms, as shall appear intirely for our Safety. I believe the most sanguine Malecontent will not pretend to say, that the *Spaniards* are able to look us in the Face at Sea; and let it be consider'd what an Advantage we must have over any Nation whose Frontiers are accessible by these wooden Towers our Ship. We can carry Fire to their Doors, and keep it from our own; for when a Nation which is Mistress of the Sea, happens to be engag'd with her Enemies, she has it in her Choice to take as great or as small a Share of the War as may suit best with her Designs.

The principal Terrors of a War are these, the Dread of a victorious Enemy breaking into your Frontiers, levying Contributions, and committing military Executions, which are Circumstances *England* cannot be subject to; the great Inconvenience to us must be the Expence, and the Expence of a Sea War frugally managed, especially when it must be of short Duration, cou'd not break us. — The *Dutch* not only kept out of Debt, but even grew rich by a War that lasted (with little interruption) forty years: This was in the Beginning of their Commonwealth, when their Councils were wise and their Management uncorrupt, and no doubt on't so is ours.

My

My Lord Bacon tells us, that a Nation must sink which is not very exact in revenging Injuries committed on her Frontiers, Wrongs to her Merchants, and Affronts to her publick Ministers in foreign Countries; and this great Philosopher accounts it a most unwise Step for a Commonwealth to put up Injuries for Fear of being engaged in a War. And he speaks to this Effect upon that Subject.

“ No Body can be healthful without Exercise,
 “ neither *Body Natural* nor *Body Politick*; and cer-
 “ tainly to a Kingdom or Estate, a just and honour-
 “ able War is the true Exercise; a Civil War in-
 “ deed is like the Heat of a Fever, but a foreign
 “ War is like the Heat of Exercise, and serveth to
 “ keep the Body in Health; for in a long and
 “ slothful Peace Men's Courages will effeminate,
 “ and their Manners degenerate and corrupt.

But *Great Britain*, by her Situation in the midst of the Waters, has the Happiness which no other Power can be secure of; that tho' she should have *War* Abroad, she will have *Peace* at Home, and if she shou'd pay some Taxes for the Support of her Fleets she will think herself well rewarded by the Enjoyment of *Fame*, *Victory*, and Enlargement of Commerce; all which she may, without Vanity, look for, while she has to do with an Enemy inferior to her in Courage and Strength.—She will not be under a Necessity of engaging with foreign Armies, or if she shou'd do it without a Necessity, yet still her People will be free from the Calamities of War.

If therefore a Nation bless'd with all these Advantages, shou'd suffer Encroachments upon her Commerce, shou'd forgive Violences, and Depredations committed on her Merchants, or so much as give up the most minute Point of Honour thro' the Dread of entering into a War, shou'd we not count her altogether unworthy of the Care of Providence?—

Or

Or shou'd the Ministers of such a happy State enter into Alliances, and conclude Treaties demonstrably shocking to her Interest, shou'd we not be apt to think there is something more at the Bottom of it than meer IGNORANCE? Shou'd we not suppose that they have some private Reasons for endeavouring to break the Spirits of a free People, that being exposed to the Scorn of the whole World for their *Folly* and *Cowardise*, they may no longer think their Liberties at Home worth preserving?

But thank God these Fears are none of ours; we have concluded a Peace, and tho' the Terms of it are not made publick to us by Authority, we may rest satisfied (upon a View of our own Strength, as well as Weakness of the Enemy) that it is the most honourable and advantageous *Great Britain* ever gain'd; we may count upon it, I say, that the Enemy hath been oblig'd to make such Submissions and Concessions to us, as will make the neighbouring Nations tremble at the Fear of rousing the *British Lion*.



SATURDAY, Jan. 17, 1730.



ETHINKS it is Time we should congratulate our Country upon the glorious Treaty of Peace lately concluded at *Seville*, for now the People of *England* have the Satisfaction of seeing that the great Sums they have been paying, for some Years past, towards the Maintenance of foreign Troops, towards the Subsidies to the Duke of *Wolfenbuttle*, *Landgrave of Hesse*, and other Northern Powers, to several Naval Expeditions

ditions to the *Baltick*, to the *Mediterranean* to the *West-Indies*, not forgetting that to *Spithead*, as likewise to that profitable Fund call'd *secret Service*, have not been laid out in vain, for lo! the Peace is made.

I perfume, the Subjects will not hereafter murmur at any Demand for Supplies that may be made upon them, for they will be convinced that their Money is better in the Hands of the Ministers than in their own Pockets, since it has been so well employ'd as to reduce our Enemies to a Necessity of *running up and down the World*, to beg and sue to us for *Peace upon our own Terms*.

All *Europe* will now plainly see that as our present wife and able Ministers did not BLUNDER us into this *Quarrel*, nor were drawn into it by the more ingenious Cunning of any artful Ally or Neighbour, whose Interest it might to be distress us, so they have disengag'd us from it with all Circumstances of Honour and Advantage.

Far be it from me to make a Comparison betwixt the Treaty of *Seville* and the Treaty of *Utrecht*; I am sensible there is as wide a Difference betwixt these two Treaties as betwixt the Capacities and Honour of the different Persons concern'd in making them.

I could never hear of any Advantages gain'd to *Great Britain* by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, except the Cession of *Gibraltar* and *Port Mahone*, with the whole Island of *Minorca*, ——— of *Hudson's-Bay*, of Part of the Island of *St. Christopher's*, ——— of *Nova Scotia*, otherwise call'd *Arcadia*, with the City of *Anapolis-Royal*, — the Demolition of *Dunkerque*, — the *Assiento* Contract, and some other trifling Advantages in Trade not worth naming: — I say, I could never hear it so much as pretended that any other Concessions besides these were made to *Great Britain* by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, beyond what she had obtained by former Treaties, and therefore it may be remembered, that, after the Accession of King *George* the first to the

Dominions of these Realms, the late Earl of *Oxford* was *impeach'd* in Parliament for advising the *QUEEN* to make the said Treaty, and it is well known that no Person appear'd more active and vigorous in promoting and managing the said *Impeachment*, than one of the honourable Persons to whose Counsels (it is generally believ'd) this Nation at present stands indebted for the Treaty of *Seville*.

For this Reason I think we ought to assure ourselves that the Articles of the Treaty of *Seville* are infinitely more honourable and advantageous to *Great Britain* than those of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, but however, I hope the People will not be prejudiced against the former, if they find the *Engl^{ish}* Commerce provided for only as it stood upon the Foot of the latter, for so I understand this separate Article.

“ Although, conformable to the preliminary Articles, it is said in the fourth Article of the Treaty
 “ sign'd this Day, that the Commerce of the *Engl^{ish}*
 “ *l^y* Nation in *America* shou'd be re-establish'd on
 “ the Foot of the Treaties and Conventions antecedent to the Year one thousand seven hundred
 “ and five ; however, for the greater Exactness, it
 “ is further declared by the present Article between
 “ the *Britannick* and *Catholick* Majesties, which
 “ shall have the same Force, and be under the same
 “ Guaranty as the Treaty signed this Day ; that
 “ under that general Denomination are comprehended the Treaties of Peace and Commerce concluded
 “ at *Utrecht*, the thirteenth of *July* and ninth of *December*,
 “ in the Year one thousand seven hundred
 “ and thirteen, in which are compriz'd the Treaty
 “ of one thousand six hundred and sixty seven, made
 “ at *Madrid*, and the Schedulas therein mentioned ;
 “ the latter Treaty made at *Madrid*, the fourteenth
 “ of *December*, one thousand seven hundred and
 “ fifteen ; as also the particular Contract commonly
 “ call'd the *Asiento*, for bringing *Negro Slaves* into
 “ the

“ the *Spanish Indies*, which was made the sixth Day
 “ of *March*, in the said Year 1713, in Consequence
 “ of the Twelfth Article of the Treaty of *Utrecht*.

We hope I say, that the Prejudice which some
 People formerly conceiv'd against the Treaty of
Utrecht, will not give them an ill Opinion of this
 Treaty, since there are several *Articles* in this of
Seville, which have no Relation to that of *Utrecht*,
 of which Number I take this to be one.

“ The introducing of Garrisons into the Places
 “ of *Leghorn, Porto Ferraro, Parma, and Placentia*,
 “ to the Number of six thousand Men, of his Ca-
 “ tholick Majesty's Troops, and in his Pay, shall be
 “ effectuated without Loss of Time, which Troops
 “ shall serve for the better securing and preserving
 “ the immediate Succession of the said States in
 “ Favour of the most serene Infante *Don Carlos*, and
 “ to be ready to withstand any Enterprize and Op-
 “ position which might be form'd to the Prejudice of
 “ what has been regulated touching the said Succession.

I confess that (according to the Form in which
 this Article is drawn up) it does not appear to me
 that we have anything to do with it, yet, on the
 other Side, it is not reasonable to suppose that the
 sending Troops into *Italy* in Favour of *Don Carlos*,
 would have been made an Article of Peace betwixt
Great Britain and *Spain*, unless *Great Britain* was to be
 some Way or other concern'd in it, and therefore
 if we are only to furnish a Fleet of Men of War
 to attend the said *Don Carlos* and to convoy or trans-
 port his Troops into *Italy*, it will highly oblige the
 great *Duke of Tuscany*, with whom it is our Interest
 to be upon good Terms, in Regard to our *Italian*
 Trade, I say, that Prince will not be able to refuse
 us any Favour in his Power, if we should be instru-
 mental in introducing an Army of Foreigners into
 his Dominions, during his Life.—I don't take up-
 on me to assert that we are to do so, I only presume

that this Article was not inserted for nothing, for I think by the Twelfth Article we have obliged ourselves to assist the said *Don Carlos*, in Case he should be oppos'd, which Article is in these Words;

“ The contracting Powers engage to establish, according to the Rights of Succession which have been stipulated, and to maintain the most serene Infante *Don Carlos*, or him to whom his Rights shall devolve, in the Possession and Enjoyment in the States of *Tuscany*, *Parma* and *Placentia*, when he shall once be settled there; to defend him from all Insult, against any Power whatsoever, that might intend to disturb him; declaring themselves, by this Treaty, Guarantees for ever, of the Right, Possessions Tranquility and Quiet of the most serene Infante, and of his Successors to the said States.

I know very well what the disaffected will say upon this Article. — They will run on in their usual Way; Why should we engage to establish and maintain *Don Carlos* in those *Italian* Dominions? What is *Don Carlos* to us, or we to *Don Carlos*, that we should run the Hazard of engaging in an expensive War, to secure Dominions for him? What Equivalent does *Spain* give to *Great Britain* for all this? — Is not this the same *Don Carlos* whose Succession (we were persuaded, about three Years, by the reverend Author of the Enquiry) it was incumbent upon us at all Hazards, to prevent, as an Incident which threaten'd Danger to the Interest of *Great Britain* in particular, as well as to the Ballance of Power in *Europe*? And was it not given as a principal Reason for the extraordinary Expences we were at in hostile Preparations? I know, I say, they will say all this and every thing else their ill Nature can suggest, in order to represent the Proceedings of our present wise and able Ministers as weak and inconsistent in the Eyes of the People.

But

But as all our Successes are so many Mortifications to these Men, it is no wonder the Treaty of *Seville* should provoke their Spleen. I wonder what they will say to this Article.

“ Although it was stipulated by the Preliminaries, that all Hostilities should cease on both Sides, and that if any Trouble or Hostilities should happen hereafter between the Subjects of the contracting Parties either in *Europe* or in the *Indies*, the contracting Parties should concur for the Reparation of Damages sustain'd by their respective Subjects; and, notwithstanding this, it is alledg'd that, on the Part of the Subjects of his Catholick Majesty, Acts of Disturbance, and Hostilities have been continued; it is agreed, by this present Article, that, as to what relates to *Europe*, his Catholick Majesty shall forthwith cause Reparation to be made for the Damages which have been suffered there, since the Time prescribed by the Preliminaries for the Cessation of Hostilities. — And as to what relates to *America*, he will forthwith cause Reparation to be made for the Damages which shall have been suffered there since the Arrival of his Orders at *Cartagena*, on the $\frac{1}{2}$ Day of *June*, 1728.

Here it may be seen that the King of *Spain* obliges himself to cause Reparation to be made to our Merchants for all the Damages they have suffered from the *Spaniards* in *Europe*, since the Time prescribed by the Preliminaries for the Cessation of Hostilities, and in *America*, from the Arrival of his Orders at *Cartagena*, in *June*, seventeen hundred and twenty eight——What would they have more?

But perhaps the disaffected may cavil at this Article too, and pretend to maintain that all the Losses sustain'd by our Merchants in the *Mediterranean*, and on the Coasts of *Spain* and *Portugal* happen'd before the Cessation, as well as the greatest Part of those

in *America*, and they will perhaps ask, since no War was declared, and no Hostilities committed on our Side, why should not the *Spaniards* make us Reparation for our whole Losses?—I shall not stop now to answer these idle Cavils, but shall proceed to the next Article.

“ Commissaries shall be nominated with sufficient Powers on the Part of their *Britannick* and
 “ Catholick Majesties, who shall assemble at the
 “ Court of *Spain*, within the Space of four Months
 “ after the Exchange of the Ratifications of the present Treaty, or sooner, if it can be done, to examine and decide what concerns the Ships and
 “ Effects taken at Sea on either Side, *to the Time specified in the preceding Article*. The said Commissaries shall likewise examine and decide, according to the Treaties, the respective Pretensions which relate to the Abuses which are supposed to have been committed in Commerce, as well
 “ in the *Indies* as in *Europe*, and all the other respective Pretensions in *America*, founded on Treaties, whether with Respect to the Limits or otherwise.——The said Commissaries shall likewise
 “ discuss and decide the Pretensions which his Catholick Majesty may have by Virtue of the Treaty
 “ of one thousand seven hundred and twenty one, for the *Restitution of the Ships taken by the English Fleet in the Year one thousand seven hundred eighteen*,
 “ and the said Commissaries, after having examined, discuss’d and decided the abovesaid Points and
 “ Pretensions shall make a Report of their Proceedings to their *Britannick* and Catholick Majesties, who promise that within the Space of six
 “ Months after making the said Report, they will cause to be executed punctually, and exactly, what
 “ shall have been so decided by the said Commissaries.

Here we see it provided by an Article, in what Manner our Merchants are to proceed, in order to obtain

obtain the Reparation stipulated for their Damages; — for the Commissaries are to meet at the Court of *Spain*, where, I suppose, our Merchants may repair to prove their Losses, if they please, and so may the *Spaniards* too (if they had any to prove;) and by another Article, the Time of finishing their Examination upon all Claims, as well as their Determinations thereupon, is limited to three Years, and the Restitution being to be made in six Months after the Determination, it will not be in the Power of these Commissaries to delay and lengthen this good Work to an indefinite Time, tho' they should have never such strong Inclinations to prolong their own Commissions.

As to that Part of this Article which relates to the Restitution of the *Spanish* Fleet, taken or destroyed in the *Mediterranean* in the Year 1718, sure nothing can be reckon'd more reasonable. It is well known the King of *Spain* was at great Pains and Expence in making up that Fleet, for not being furnish'd at that Time with Workmen or Materials, within his own Dominions, for building such a Squadron, at least in so short a Time, he was obliged, for great Sums of Money, to purchase most of these Ships at *Genoa*, *Lisbon*, *Hamburg*, and some of them as far as *Petersburgh*; and if those Ships are decay'd and grown rotten, or have been sunk in the main Sea, by the Orders of the Governments, as we are told in a late Pamphlet, what can be more just or reasonable, than that the King of *Spain* should have an Equivalent paid him in Money, that he may be able to build or purchase such another Squadron? —

I remember that for some Years certain Gentlemen, who were Friends to our wise and able Ministers, applauded that Action of destroying the *Spanish* Fleet, as proceeding from most politic Counsels; and I have the Pleasure now of hearing the same individual Persons highly extol the Design of
ma-

making Restitution for it; and sure, if these Men are not discontented at seeing the King of Spain thus strengthened, others who had so great a Concern for the Interest of that Prince, that they represented that Action as contrary to the Law of Nations, will not grudge their Share of the Money, that may be paid him to make good that Loss.

Thus have I given my Sentiments of the Treaty concluded at Seville, and proved it to be just, honourable, and advantageous.—And now, that by the great Skill and Address of our Ministers, their Enemies are quite precluded from their favourite Topicks about *Blundering and Ignorance*, I wonder what Abuse they will fall upon next—In short, I cannot deal with them better than in the Words of a Pamphlet publish'd the other Day; glad I am that we have such Heads in this Nation as the Author of that Pamphlet, Men who can reason so superfinely upon publick Affairs.—I say, I shall apply his Words to the Disaffected, let them take it as they will.

“ They flatter'd themselves with the Hopes of a burthenfome War, and they are disappointed by
 “ the Conclusion of an advantageous Peace; but
 “ their Consternation, great as it is, is not to be
 “ pitied since it is a sure Mark of our Happiness.



SATURDAY, Jan. 24, 1730.



It may, perhaps, appear a Task altogether unnecessary to undertake the Defence of the late glorious Treaty of *Seville*, since it has already stood the Test of our Malecontents, and *all their artful Malice has not been able to misrepresent it.*

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When only some of the Articles were known, and those from common Fame, Men's Sentiments concerning it were different; but since it has been fairly printed and published both in *French* and *English*, we have the Satisfaction of finding the whole World pretty near of the same Opinion, and Men pronounce with a general Voice that it answers what they expected from our wise and able Ministers.

But tho' this Treaty stands in need of no Justification, yet since it still continues the Subject of all Conversations, a Man who speaks to the Publick is under a Necessity of saying something upon it.

And now, perhaps, it may be thought incumbent on us to make an Apology for some of our late Discourses, which seem'd to speak in Favour of war-like Measures. — I confess, it was maintain'd in this Paper that the following Saying, *Any Peace is preferable to a War*, which of late is so common in the Mouths of the Whigs, was a base, cowardly and an impolitick Notion, — that it was more prudent as well as more honourable to lose any thing by open Force, than to part with it by an ignominious Treaty, — that to give up a Point of Honour thro' the Fear of engaging in War was what was never practiced either by the *Romans* or any other wise or brave People, — and that buying Peace or Alliances was sure Destruction.

We compared a Commonwealth in this Situation to some Person in private Life who had the Misfortune of being branded with the Character of being both a Fool and a Coward, against whom every Bully that wanted Money need only cock his Hat and lay his Hand upon his Sword, and the 'Squire must open his Purse Strings.

Tho' we urg'd all these Things, we never pretended to maintain that War was to be chosen before any Peace, — far from it, — we know that it is Peace which must make Plenty flow, and that

that Trade and Arts seldom thrive in Times of War; and since the Treaty of *Seville* has been concluded as much to our Honour and Advantage, as the War was managed which preceded it, it would be unseasonable to write against peaceable Measures.

If our Possessions are ascertain'd to us, and our Trade well provided for, we may be content.— I confess, indeed, that it has been the Custom heretofore in Times of publick Treaties, for Writers to put the Minist'rs in Mind that the People of *England* expected to maintain their antient Post of Honour, that of *holding the Ballance of Power*; but upon this Occasion there has been no Necessity for such *Memorandums*, and we have the Pleasure to find that *France* and *Spain* being again thoroughly united by this Treaty, that Point is secured; and if the *Emperor* should be so ill advised, as to oppose the Execution of this Treaty, either in Respect to *Don Carlos*, or to any other Article, his Mistake will be our Gain, for it is not probable that he will be able to prevail against the united Strength of *England*, *France*, and *Spain*; therefore while the *Spaniards*, with the Succours stipulated, are settling *Don Carlos* in *Italy*, the *French* may give his Imperial Majesty a little Diversion in *Flanders*, a Spot of Ground which has been a lasting Beauty in their Eye, for the Enjoyment of which they have sigh'd these hundred Years; and if that Success shou'd follow these Measures, which may be reasonably expected, *France* may extend her Frontiers on that Side, and gain a Country abounding with rich and populous Cities and Towns; and on the Side of *Italy*, *Sicily*, and *Naples*, may be again conquer'd for *Spain*, which will bring the Ballance of Power in *Europe* exactly even.

I am also glad to find that our Right to *Gibraltar* and Port *Mahone*, which have been contested by Reason of some Letters and Negotiations in the late
Reign,

Reign, are now ascertain'd to us by the *constructive Sense of this Treaty*, which I suppose will satisfy the People, for I make no Doubt but our Ministers, if they had thought it of any Consequence, might have prevail'd on his Catholick Majesty in his present good Disposition towards us, to have signify'd the true Intentions of his Heart, and have explain'd his Sense of this Part of the Treaty of *Seville* in the most clear and explicit Manner that Words cou'd frame; and indeed, if our Ministers had only consulted their own Vanity, the procuring an Article whereby the King of *Spain*, in express Words, shou'd have renounced his new Pretensions, might have given them a handle for Triumph over the Disaffected, who have made some Rout about these Places; but since it is not done, it is because it was not necessary, and our wise and able Ministers are content with the Merit of doing what is Right, without courting popular Applause.

We are told there are some secret Articles belonging to this Treaty, and I confess I shou'd not be sorry if this concerning *Gibraltar* might be one, because it wou'd strike the Disaffected quite dumb.

But since I have named *Secret Articles*, I can't help extolling our Ministers for preserving all our Rights and Possessions in our *American* Plantations upon the same Foot, that they were taken Care of by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, for I have observ'd of late, that some Men speak very favourably of that Treaty, who were once pursuing the Persons that made it to Death and Destruction, both them and their Families; but this is no Wonder, for it is a common Thing to love the Treason where we hate the Traytors, and we have been long enough in Possession of this Treaty to know the true Worth of it; nay, I find the *Whigs* in general are pleased to allow, that the *ignominious* Treaty of *Utrecht* is not the most *ignominious* Treaty that ever was made, and certainly

certainly they are in the Right, if what *Philly de Comines* writes has any Weight with them.

This Writer was Secretary of State to *Lewis* the Eleventh of *France*, and he tells us that the *French* and *Englsh* having agreed to decide some Disputes betwixt the two Nations by a Treaty, the *French* Commissaries discover'd those who were employ'd by the *Englsh* to be so shallow and unknowing in the Business of Negotiating, that his Master gain'd greater Advantages by their Ignorance than he cou'd have propos'd by a successful War — And the Author relates, that he himself being in Discourse with a Gentleman of *Gascony* who had served as an Officer amongst the *Englsh*, he ask'd him how many Battles the *Englsh* had fought since he had serv'd amongst them; he answer'd, Nine; the Author then desired to know how often they had been defeated; but once, answer'd the *Gascoigne*, and that is by the late Treaty, wherein they have been outwitted by you, by which they have lost more Honour than they have gain'd by all their Battles.

But this is a Digression, — for we were going to speak of our Plantations in *America* — In looking over the Chart of that Part of the World, I perceived that the Island of *Hispaniola* or *St. Domingo* makes a considerable Figure, and by the little Care which the *Spaniards* have taken of it for some Years past, one wou'd think it wou'd not be impossible to persuade them to part with it. — This Island lies betwixt *Cuba*, *Jamaica*, and *Porto Rico*, the Air is esteem'd more temperate and healthy than that of *Jamaica*, its Length is betwixt two hundred and forty, and two hundred and fifty Leagues, its Breadth sixty in some Places, and where narrowest thirty; we are told that the Pasture is excellent for Cattle, and the Soil generally so fertile, that Roots of all Kinds come to Maturity in sixteen Days after they are sown; but there are
other

other Properties belonging to it, which perhaps wou'd recommend it more to a trading People, and one of these is, that it is found more excellent for Sugars than any other of the Islands, and much greater Crops are produced there, and with less Labour, than in *Jamaica*; there are also Mines both of Gold and Silver, but neglected for Want of Hands to work them, as is indeed the Sugar Trade, for great Numbers of the Inhabitants have of late Years been drawn off to the Continent in *America*, which enjoys a more flourishing Trade, — yet, I say, this Island wou'd be a delicious Morfel, were it in good Hands.

By good Hands, I own, I mean our own; for tho' I shou'd allow the *French* to be the most advantageous Allies to us in the World, yet I can't help thinking that if they were in Possession of this fruitful Island, what with their Activity and what with their Industry, they wou'd be able to spoil our Sugar Trade; and I confess I shou'd have apprehended, that they wou'd have endeavour'd either by an open or a ~~SECRET~~ Article to have wheedled the *Spaniards* out of it, during these Negotiations, were I not thoroughly persuaded that all the Trouble they have given themselves was intirely detach'd from any Motive of particular Interest to themselves, and the Pains they have taken for three Years past, have been owing to nothing but their extraordinary Affection to us.

Whether there are secret Articles or no, I will not take upon me to decide; if there are none, so much the better for us, because in this Case we can sound the Bottom of the Treaty; but if it should be found otherwise, that there are secret Articles, I will say so much the better again, because we may count upon it that all Articles that are not declared must be strong in our Favour.

The Author of the Observations on the Treaty of *Seville* (who has not his Equal) has not determin'd this Point, and yet he has told us Secrets too.—— To him we are obliged for our Knowledge of what became of the *Spanish* Fleet which was taken in the Year Seventeen hundred and Eighteen; for he tells us the Ships were all *SUNK*; I confess I had often heard they were *SUNK*, but I cou'd never hear it agreed by whom or in what Manner they were *SUNK*; but this Author assures us they were *SUNK* in the Sea, and that by Order of the Governor of *Port Mahone*; I confess I much admire the Sagacity of this Governor for *sinking* the Ships in a Place where the *Spaniards*, who bore us no good Will about that Time, cou'd never find them, and I don't doubt but most wise Reasons can be given for their being *SUNK*; however, I hope that what was saved out of them, will be brought to a fair Account, in order to encrease the *Sinking Fund*.

Another Secret of this Author's is, that the People of *Italy* never express'd greater Joy than at the first News of the Treaty of *Seville*'s being sign'd, for by that they understood that Six Thousand *Spaniards* were to be landed in *Italy* as soon as possible, to garrison the Towns of *Tuscany*,—yet it must be observ'd, that from the Minute of their hearing this joyful News, they have been taking Measures to hinder the Entrance of these Troops, which Behaviour of theirs I account for thus;

It is well known by Travellers, that in *Roman* Catholick Countries the People often exercise some Penance, especially in the holy Time of Lent, and as that Time is now approaching, the *Italians* are preparing all they can to oppose *Spanish* Garrisons for their Towns, because it is the Thing in the World they wish for most, and this by Way of Mortification for their Sins. So that our Author found out

out how agreeable the Entrance of these Troops was to them, by their Resolutions not to receive them.

I have done with this most ingenious Pamphlet; I shall only observe, that the Whigs have attributed the Writing of it to a Gentleman who has been employ'd in some Affairs in a foreign Court, by which they will give us to understand, that we have Persons in this Nation, who can write as well as they can negotiate, such as have proved themselves *in utrumque experti*; but others again, of the same Party, are pleas'd to assign for its Author, a Gentleman who has made himself no less famous at Home, for his most profound Skill in political Casuistry.. It lies betwixt these two, and I wish I could determine the Point, that the Honour of it might be given to whom that Honour is justly due; but if I might be allow'd to offer'd my humble Conjecture in a matter of so nice a Nature, I confess I esteem it not unworthy of that sublime Genius which projected the *Pet Act*.



SATURDAY, Jan. 31, 1730.



REMEMBER some Years ago Proposals were publish'd by an unknown Hand for printing by Subscription a Treatise entitled, the *Art of political Lying*, but unluckily for the Nation and the Author it happened to be ill-timed, for the Proposals came out under a Tory Administration, and whether those Gentlemen had the Vanity to think themselves capable of carrying on the Business of the Nation without the Assistance

of this Art or not, I can't say, but certain it is they were so blind to their private Interest as well as that of all succeeding Ministers, that they suffered this useful Project to drop for Want of due Encouragement.

It is a Neglect that cannot be sufficiently lamented, for what strange bungling Work have we seen in Things of the greatest Consequence, for want of some stated Rules of Art which might serve to direct those who at certain Times have taken upon them the Province of *imposing upon the Publick*.

The WHIGS, who, to do them Justice, have ever shewn the most generous Disposition towards encouraging and propagating this Science, have nevertheless brought it into extream Contempt, by the very Methods they have used to promote it, for it has been constantly their Practice to employ Persons not duly qualify'd, from a Notion that all Men who were Lovers of LYING, and who had strong Inclinations to practice it, must of consequence be *Artists*, which, with humble Submission, I take to be an Error in their Judgment, for it is in LYING as in other Arts and Sciences; for Example, in Musick, how many are there who have a Passion for singing, without understanding a Note? and as many who are enamoured of the Muses, who are altogether *unable of making a Verse*; so that I will venture to assert that in political LYING, as in Poetry or Musick, no Man will make a Figure without a Genius.

But since I am enter'd upon the Subject I shall add some Observations of my own to those included in the general Proposals of the Author above-named.

As it requires greater Skill to coin a LYAR than to coin a Piece of Money, so as to make it current amongst the People, it will be found that your LYARS of Change-Alley are not fit to be employed in State-Affairs, because their LYARS are calculated
often

often to last no more than half an hour, at farthest a Day, and therefore when some Persons upon the Credit of a little successful Lying in that Place have thrust themselves into Business of a higher Nature, it has appear'd by their Bungling that they were out of their Element.

The Man therefore who is worthy of being employed in the Service of a Ministry, must not only be endued with an excellent Invention, back'd with a solid Judgment, but he must be deeply read in the various Humours, Passions, Views and Inclinations of all Parties, Factions, Orders and Degrees of Men.

He must consider the Weight and Quality of his LIES before he sends it into the World.—He must know by its *Velocity* and *Ponderosity*, how far his LIES will carry before it falls, as well as an Archer can judge the exact Flight of his Arrow, by the Strength he applies to the Bow.

He must take Notice what Kind of LIES there is most Demand for, which perhaps he will be obliged to vary according to the different Aspect of Affairs, for as a skilful Fisherman alters his Baits, not only with the Seasons of the Year but even with the Changes of the Weather, so must a Statesman alter his LIES, which are his political Baits.

He must distinguish nicely what LIES are proper for our Home Consumption, and what fittest for Exportation.

But I wou'd warn him against the Practice of some modern Politicians, who ran into a Humour of coining LIES as the Ancients did Medals, upon every new Event which happened, because I conceive it will tend greatly to the Discredit of the Art itself, for when a Thing grows common and cheap, it becomes despised and of Consequence useless, and there is a Saying to this Purpose in the Proposals of the Author above-named, which is worthy to be

engraved in Letters of Gold, in the Cabinets of all Statesmen,—that *when there are too many Worms you catch no Gudgeons.*

The Whigs have ever been extremely prone to words falling into this Mistake, and whenever they have attempted to carry a Point by this Method, they have generally spoil'd all by over-doing it; so have I seen an injudicious Actor, through a too great Fondness for his Part, strain the Humour beyond Nature and Probability, till he has been hiss'd off the Stage.

It cannot be forgot that this was the Fate of the Author of a certain Pamphlet about three Years ago;—that Reverend Gentleman very unskilfully charged his Piece up to the Muzzle at once, but if he had ever studied the Mathematicks, he would have known that a Cannon over-loaded always recoils, and sometimes bursts, to the great Danger of those for whose Service it was employ'd, and he found the same to be true in the Art of which we are treating, but not indeed till it was too late for him to correct his Error.

The Gentleman who formerly published the Proposals lays it down as a *Postulatum*, that a Minister of State ought to speak Truth for three Months together, in order to gain Credit for a twelve Months Lying afterwards.

But I can't help saying that this seems too be a Point of great Difficulty, for some Men can no more keep in a Lie than some Women can a Secret, and a Confinement upon a Man's Temper is full as severe as a Confinement upon his Body; however if a Minister is not able to speak Truth himself, he may find out those that can, and tho' it might happen that amongst his own Friends and intimate Acquaintance no such Person is to be found, yet upon extraordinary Occasions, he should take the Pains to inquire out one so qualified; not that I would lay an In-
junction

junction upon him to take him into his Confidence or Familiarity; far be it from me to urge that Persons of this Character are fit Companions for Ministers of State—but he may make Use of his Veracity for Reasons best known to himself, and when the Point is gain'd cast him off, remembering the old Proverb, that *a Man must sometimes hold a Candle to the Devil*

Some modern Writers who have practis'd the Art of *political Lying*, (whether they were employ'd by great Men, or whether they thrust themselves into the Profession, I won't say) but they have made strange bungling Work of it, and so it always will be where the Hook is not first baited with a little Truth, in order to draw the Publick in to bite. — Your *Enquiries*,—your *Observations on the Conduct of*, &c.—your *Observations on Treaties of*, &c.—your *London Journals*, gave us Nothing but *Swingers*; if we could have swallowed what they threw out to us, we might next have swallowed the *Alcoran*, or have taken *Robinson Cruso* for Holy Writ.

Nothing is apt to mislead the Proficients in this Art so much as an awkward Imitation of something which has succeeded before—There was a Time when the Grandeur of *France* was rung out in *Terror* once a Year, and considerable Sums were rais'd upon it, and indeed the Hook was so well baited, that it is no Wonder the People swallow'd it.—This being remembred, as we suppose, by the Author of the Enquiry, he took it into his Head that nothing wou'd have so good an Effect as a *Terrifier*; but as it was no proper Time to take Umbrage at the reviving Greatness of our best Allies the *French*, he sets up *Don Carlos* for his *raw Head and bloody Bones*——But what was the Consequence? Instead of exciting *Fear* and *Jealousy*, which were the Passions he endeavour'd to stir up in the People, he provoked nothing but *Laughter*.

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I am persuaded it is owing to this Author, and to some others who have trod in the same Steps, that our Productions in this Art have had so little Success Abroad that they are fallen as much as our Woollen Manufacture; when we found that the Ware of these Gentlemen wou'd not go off at Home, we did as trading Nations do in other Goods, we try'd what cou'd be made of them in foreign Markets; but they were immediately turn'd upon our Hands with the Freight and all other Expences lost, and they have lain as such a Drug upon our Hands ever since that nobody will own them.

But before we proceed farther in our Observations upon this profound Science, it will be necessary to inquire whether the Practice of it be lawful, lest Persons of tender Consciences shou'd be shock'd at what is here advanced, — for the Illustration of which Point I shall have Recourse to the Proposals of the Author who has furnish'd me with the Idea of this Discourse.

“ As to the Lawfulness of *political Lying* he proposed to deduce it from its true and genuine Principles, by enquiring into the several Rights that Mankind have to Truth. — He intended to shew, that the People have a right to *Private Truth* from their Neighbours, and *Oeconomical Truth* from their own Families, that they shou'd not be abused by their Wives, Children, and Servants; but that they have no Right at all to *political Truth* — that the People may all as well pretend to be Lords of Mannors, and to possess great Estates, as to have Truth told them in Matters of Government. He proposed with great Judgment, to state the several Shares of Mankind, in this Matter of Truth, according to their several Capacities, Dignities, and Professions and to shew that Children have hardly any Share at
“ all;

" all; in Consequence of which they have very seldom any Truth told them.

The Practice being thus prov'd undoubtedly lawful, the chief Regard is to be had to the *Use*, that is, the *Profitable*, for it looks silly to tell a Lie to no Purpose, and were it not so, Nurses and Chambermaids wou'd be best qualify'd to be Ministers of State, and indeed the *Time has been* when Men with the same *Capacities* have had that good Fortune.

The next Question which will naturally occur will be, Whether the *Right of Coinage of political Lies* be wholly in the Ministers and those deputed by them? and here again I must recur to my Author, who, as a true Friend to *English Liberty*, has determined it in the *Negative*, for (says he) as the Government of *England* has a Mixture of *Democratical* in it, the Right of improving and spreading *political Lies* must be partly in the People; and their obstinate Adherence to this just Privilege has been conspicuous at certain times.

Since therefore it is equally fair, just, and honourable, to *LIE* for and against a Ministry, the Artist, who wou'd succeed in either, must have a great Regard to the *Probable*, otherwise his *LIES* will return upon his Hands, perhaps to the utter Ruin of his Credit.

But as Things are best illustrated by Example, I will explain what I mean by the *Probable*.

Suppose that a Person in considerable Employment shou'd at any Time be detected and convicted of some little Bribery; a Professor, who has a Mind to render him odious, may very safely assert that *Furfsante* (or whatever his Name be) commits *Peculation* every Morning before he says his Prayers or washes his Hands; he may give out boldly, that he has four Persons in the four Quarters of the City to receive his Bribes, and tho' not above half of this

this be true, yet the whole will be swallow'd, because the *Probable* is kept up.

A *political LIE* shou'd be a *Falshood* that has all the *Air and Appearance of Truth*, or to describe it more accurately, it shou'd be a *Truth improved into a Lie*, which may be done by a moderate Use of that Figure in Rhetorick call'd *Hyperbole*, as may be seen by the Example before quoted.

It is a shameful Thing to see some Men practice this Art their whole Lives, and yet continue such Dunces to the End—No Doubt the Reader will perceive that I have my Eye upon the modern Professors of the Whig Party, whose Mistakes this Way are owing to an Error in Education; they are bred up in such a fix'd Aversion to Truth, that they cannot bear the Appearance of it; in any of their Compositions, whatever they throw out, the naked Hook appears, and it is in vain to think of taking in the People when their *LIES* are of such a Nature that the World perceives they don't believe them themselves.

Poyson is a salutiferous Medicine in skilful Hands, but dangerous when administer'd by a Fool; and so is a *political LIE* ——— Therefore I think the *Whigs* shou'd appoint Commissaries to sit upon the Works of their Professors, in order to stifle all crude and indigested Stuff that may come from them, and if they had always taken this Method, I am pretty positive we shou'd not have above one *British*, or *London Journal* for these seven Years last past.





SATURDAY, Feb. 7, 1730.



Man no sooner climbs into a high Station but the busy World falls to examine into his Parts, and if they don't discover in him a competent Knowledge for Affairs both foreign and domestick, back'd with a proportionable Share of *Vertue, Wisdom, and Honour*, they are apt to turn up their Noses.

I have computed the Expectations of the Publick upon this Head, and find that they demand at least as much Honour in a Man in a great Employment as would serve a Dozen of the best dress'd Gentlemen at *White's* for the Business of that Place, and as great a Quantity of Brains as fairly and equally divided betwixt four and twenty Gentlemen of Figure would qualify them to be *Directors* of the *Opera* — and that they will not abate a Dram of this Proportion.

I will allow that the Minute a Man is made a Minister of State, his Understanding is prodigiously enlarg'd, and for the Proof of it I shall appeal to the Opinions of all the *Pensioners, Place-Men, Levee-Hunters* and *Pimps*, now living and residing in the Dominions of *Great Britain* and Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*; but yet I can't help saying that the Expectations of the People are a little extravagant in this Particular, for the Talents of Ministers are differently turn'd as well as those of other Men, and no one has an equal Address in all the Functions of his Charge.

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One great Man (for Example) is happy in finding out Ways and Means to increase the Trade and Wealth of his Country ; another may find Ways and Means of increasing his own private Wealth. — This may understand the Policies and Interests of all the Governments of Europe, but that may understand his own private Interest much better. — Here may be a Statesman who can weigh the *Ballance of Power*, — there one to whom the *Ballance of Power* may be all *Heathen Greek*, but yet he may have an expert Hand at *weighing Bribes and Pensions*. —

As for my Part, when I see a Man make the most of his Talents, let those Talents be what they will, I am apt to pronounce him a great Man ; but if the Multitude be of another Opinion, I can't help it.

I take it for granted no one Minister can please the whole World. — The Disaffected will be disaffected still ; if it be Peace, they will call out for War ; and if it be War, it is ten to one but they will be as loud for Peace ; which naturally draws us in to say something upon the Humour of the present Times.

I can't help being surpriz'd that there should be some Persons in this Nation who should endeavour to pick Holes in a certain Treaty. — I have this to brag of, that I approv'd of it from its first Appearance in the World to this present Day. — I have turn'd it upside down, inside out, and put it into all the Shapes and Forms I could think of, one Purpose to discover the Cavils which might be made against it by political Criticks ; I have transpos'd it and transpos'd it ; I have gone through it Article by Article over and over again, and find it still the same, equally good ; — I have even read it backwards, and find it a good Treaty that Way ; — I have laid it under my Head at Nights, and can assure my Readers slept well upon it, bating some odd Dreams, the Particulars of which I shall
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acquaint the Publick with upon some other Occasion ; ——— Nay, I have lighted my Pipe with a Page of it, and declare that I never thought my Tobacco had a better Tasse ; ——— so that I have tried it by all Tests, and yet I like it as well as I did at first.

But perhaps Treaties may be like Plays, which must stand the Censure of the Publick, for it is said that every Man who pays his Half-Crown is free to judge of the Play, and perhaps some will tell us *that every Man who pays towards a Peace ought to have the same Liberty.*

However that be, here is a Critick come out upon the Treaty of Seville : It is entituled, *The Observations on the Treaty of SEVILLE examined,* ——— but I have the Vanity to think I am myself able to confute its most material Arguments, and therefore I shall answer it in the Manner of a Ministerial Writer.

The Author seems concern'd that this *Peace* should be productive of a *War*, and gives some Reasons why a War with the Emperor must be more burthensome and impracticable to a Maritime Power than a War with *Spain*. ——— These are his Words,

“ Such a War as we have lately had with *Spain*,
 “ in which all the *Blows* were *receiv'd* and none
 “ given ; in which the Instructions and Practice on
 “ one Side were to *attack, kill, destroy, plunder* ; and
 “ and on the other Side to *persuade, to expostulate*
 “ and to *bear* (such a War as I defy this Observator
 “ with all his learned Friends to find an Example
 “ off in the whole Extent of ancient and modern
 “ History) is to be forgot if possible, and surely
 “ not to be supposed ; but such a War as we are
 “ able to make on *Spain*, whenever we please to
 “ employ our *natural, our maritime Force*, can nei-
 “ ther be burthensome nor difficult. It will always
 “ be in our Power to make the Enemy do more

" than pay the Charges of it, to revenge our
 " *Wrongs* and to assert our *Rights*. But a War
 " with the Emperor, in our present Circumstances,
 " must be a dreadful Object in the Sight of every
 " Man who carries his Views beyond the mean and,
 " wicked Point of serving a *present Turn*.

" In the former Case, we should employ all our
 " *natural* Strength, and our natural-born Subjects ;
 " — the very Progress of the War would increase
 " our own Strength, and the Expences of it would
 " enrich our own People ; whereas in the latter
 " Case, we must employ an unnatural Strength
 " and foreign Troops ; — we must make a War
 " on the Continent, in which our maritime Force
 " must remain unexerted, and the Expences of
 " which must be swallow'd up in that bottomless
 " Gulph where we have already thrown so immense
 " a Treasure.

In the first Place I would ask this Gentleman how
 is he sure we could make the Enemy pay the Charges
 of a maritime War ; we have had for many Years
 past many Fleets sent to the *Baltick*, to the *Indies*,
 to the *Mediterranean*, &c. but I never heard of any
 People that paid a Shilling towards the Expences of
 them, except the People of *England*. — Oh! but
 (says he) they did Nothing — That's a Misfortune,
 but sure he won't call it a Fault, for I hope (the
 constant Cant of the ministerial Writers) *we are not*
to judge of Things by Events.

In the next Place, how can he assert, that in case
 of a War with the Emperor, our *maritime Force*
 must remain unexerted ? For may not we fit out
 Fleets if we please ? pray, who shall hinder us ? —
 Is not *Spithead* as commodious as ever for the Ap-
 pearance of a Royal Navy ? — Did not the Fleet
 of last Year give general Satisfaction to all that saw
 it ? When their Streamers were out, no Ships ever
 made a more gallant Shew ; it is allow'd that the

Dutch

Dutch look'd but like Tubs to them, and since we may fit out Fleets if we please, this Objection comes to Nothing, — but let's see what he says next.

“ In the former Case (meaning a War with *Spain*) we should have Reason to hope for great Advantages to ourselves, and no Reason to apprehend the *Success* of our *Allies*; whereas, in the latter Case, (that is of a War with the Emperor) if any Advantages are gain'd, they are gain'd to others, none can possibly accrue to us; and if the Success of the *French* against the Emperor should be considerable, as it would be of Course, (especially when we open'd their Way into the Heart of *Germany*) we must be reduc'd to see the Labour of so many Years destroy'd, so many Millions spent in vain, and have nothing left but the distant Hopes of another *Marlborough* and another *Hockstat*.

Here the Author says, if any Advantages are gain'd by this War, they will be gain'd to others? — But what others? Why our *Allies*, the *French*; — but pray, is not their Advantage our Advantage, and their Strength our Strength? If, through the Emperor's Obstinacy, they should conquer the rich Country of *Flanders*, or even Part of it, will not our Fortune be made for ever? — I remember the last Ministry of Queen *Anne* was impeach'd for making a Peace before *France* was quite ruined, which was carried on without any private Malice, the Motives being just; but if any of them be still living, I think they ought to be impeached over again, for not leaving more Strength to *France* by that Treaty, because Circumstances are now altered, and why might not both Impeachments be carried on with the same publick Spirit?

But this Author goes on to make a Comparison betwixt *Oliver's* Treaty with the *Dutch* and the Treaty of *Seville* — “ By the former (says he) Ar-

" bitrators or Commissaries were to examine and
 " determine upon the several Demands, but then
 " they were to meet in *Goldsmiths-Hall* in *London*,
 " they were to finish their Enquiries in three
 " Months (whereas by the Treaty of *Seville* they
 " have three Years) and unless they finish'd
 " by that Time, they were to be shut up without
 " Fire or Candle, Meat or Drink, till they did
 " agree, Security was given before-hand in *London*
 " for the Payment of what should be determined,
 " and the Money to be paid in twenty five Days
 " after the Abjudication.

What does all this amount to? would he insinuate
 hereby as if *Oliver's* Ministers were Persons of greater
 Skill and Knowledge in Affairs than ours, or
 would he make us believe that they took more Care
 of the Interest of the Subject, or maintain'd the
 Dignity and Honour of the Nation better than our
 present wise and able Ministers have done? — Let
 him persuade us to that if he can. — To make the
 most of what is here advanced, it only shews that the
Dutch were obliged by *Oliver's Treaty* to allow the
English a Kind of Superiority, as well in the Terms
 as in yielding that *London* should be the Place of
 Meeting for the Commissaries. — What is all
 this but a Point of Honour? and sure Men of Sense
 know well that Honour is a meer Phantome; —
 but suppose that it had been stipulated by the Treaty
 of *Seville* that the Commissaries for adjusting the
 Losses of our Merchants should meet at *Goldsmiths-
 Hall, London*, it is possible that the Goldsmiths
 Company would not lend their Hall, and then this
 whole Cavil drops to the Ground, and there I shall
 leave it.

I might proceed to take Notice of the Dangers
 which he thinks must threaten *Great Britain* from
 even a *successful* Execution of this Treaty; I might
 answer his Apprehensions about *Gibraltar* and *Port
 Mahone*,

Alaboni, if I had Room ; however, I may take Notice of a short Reflection which he makes upon the foregoing Circumstances.

“ If the whole Weight of National Vengeance is ever to fall, it ought surely to crush those who precipitate their Country, by a long Series of **BLUNDERS** and Mistakes, into such a terrible *Dilemma*, that we cannot observe our Treaties, without being exposed to fight against our general Interests ; and without finding, whenever we return to them, that the *Weakness of our Allies*, and the *Strength of our Enemies*, are the Works of our own Hands.

I shall not here examine what are, and what are not *Blunders* ; but I hope Great Men are not to be so familiarly treated. — If a Person in a high Station shou'd even betray his Country a little, is he therefore to be stiled a Traitor ? Or is the Interest of a dirty Nation to be put in Competition with the Tranquility and Fortune of a Minister ? If so, pray where is the Privilege of Greatness ? I have understood for some Years past, that no injurious Epithet was to be used to any *Traitors*, except those out of Employment, and I shall continue of that Opinion till some Reasons are offer'd on the other Side.

But in our Case there is no Room for Reflections upwards. — If Experience be the Mistress of Art, there never were Ministers in the World so skill'd in Negotiation as some now living ; we have, within these few Years, seen a Chain of Treaties, link'd together in their natural Order, in the same Manner as good Housewives manage *Black-Puddings*.

The Treaty of *London* begot the Treaty or Convention of *Madrid*, 1721, which begot the *Quadruple Alliance*, which begot the *Congress of Cambray*, which begot the Treaty of *Vienna*, which begot the Treaty of *Hanover*, which begot the *Congress of*

Swiss, which begot the Treaty of *Seville* ———
N. B. The Congress of *Brunswick* begot itself.

Now if any Power breaks one of these Treaties, they break them all; for they stand like Nine Pins, tip but the first, all the rest will knock down one another.

I shall, perhaps, upon some other Occasion, shew what were the Descendants and Collateral Branches of all these Treaties, and in what Manner we have been influenced by them. ——— In the mean time, as often as I shall happen to enter into a Dispute with any of our Malecontents, if they desire to know why we should be oblig'd to do so, or so, for *Spain* or the *Emperor*, I will answer, It is in Consequence of such a Treaty. If they demand what Equivalent was stipulated for *Great Britain* in Consideration of this, my Answer shall be, It was to make good such another Treaty. And so I will retire from *Treaty to Treaty*, as Men besieg'd do from *Intrenchment to Intrenchment*; and this I take to be the best Method of defending both a *Ministry* and a *Town*.

But I have almost lost Sight of the Gentleman who engaged me in this Discourse, and now I take him up again; I can't imagine why he should be offended that the Author of the *Observations on the Treaty of Seville* has treated his Opposers in a *Bilkinggate Dialect* — for my Part, it is the Thing I like best in him; — a well-bred Man frequently conceals Resentment under civil Language, but he that is *scurrilous* is always in earnest, and therefore I commend that Writer for his Sincerity; — he takes no Pains to disguise his Education, and I am certainly of Opinion that he is as *well-bred* and *honest* a Man as any Writer of the whole Party.



• SATURDAY, Feb. 21, 1730.

Some Ships which arriv'd in the River, the Beginning of this Week from Dunkirk, have brought us the Copy of a Letter which was handed about there, said to be written by the Sieur Tuggha, one of the principal Magistrates of the Town of Dunkirk, to Colonel A—ng, now at Paris.

S I R,



Have the Honour to acquaint you that the Accounts we have lately received from *London* have put the Magistrates of the Town of *Dunkirk* into no small Consternation, for certain Advices are come to us that a turbulent Spirit begins to shew itself among the disaffected Party in *England*, tending to destroy that Friendship and perfect good Harmony which for some Years past has subsisted betwixt the two Nations, and that the Method taken to bring about this mischievous Design, is by insinuating Distrusts, Fears, and Jealousies in the Minds of the People of *England* concerning what has been lately doing in this Place.

I confess, I should have expected no Quarter from that Party, were they still in Power. — This poor Town has sufficiently felt the Effects of their Hardness of Heart, and in the Reign of *Queen Anne*, when their Heads or Chiefs were in the Councils of that Princess, *Dunkirk* had the Misfortune to be the chief Object of their Indignation. — They would listen to no Terms of Peace, without the entire Demolition

molition of *Dunkirk*; *Delenda est Carthago* was then the Cry, and *Dunkirk* must be put into their Hands by Way of Preliminary, before they would enter upon a Treaty. — But this is not all; what was most cruel was, that, after its Forts and its *Risbank* were demolished, after all its Works and Fortifications were levell'd to the Ground, and I had the Honour of being chosen out by the Magistrates of *Dunkirk* to go over to *London*, to endeavour to soften the Court and the People, and to prevail upon them to abate a little of their intended Rigour, by sparing the Harbour; tho' I gave in the most pathetic and moving Memorial to that Purpose that could be penn'd by the Wit of Man, tho' I implor'd this Grace in the Name of near twenty thousand Families whose Subsistence in a great Measure depended upon it, many of whom (I declar'd) would be oblig'd to leave their Homes, and wander about for Bread; yet it produced no other Effect than for me to be sent away with this inexorable Sentence, that the *Treaty of Utrecht* must be strictly put in Execution in all its Points.

Well then; the Treaty of *Utrecht* has been strictly put in Execution; yes, Sir, those magnificent Works which struck Terror in all the Beholders, and which cost *France* one hundred and forty Millions of *Livres*, were quite destroy'd by that Cruel Treaty, and the poor Inhabitants of *Dunkirk* have for three or four Years last past been endeavouring to make themselves easy under the Hardships which that Treaty brought upon them, and yet, if we are rightly informed, there is now a new Clamour raised about it, which perhaps may be artfully spirited up by the secret Workings of certain Partizans of the House of *Austria*, now in *England*. — I say, Dear Sir, that I conceive it will be no hard Matter to persuade People, that all this can proceed from nothing but the cunning Malice of the *Austrians*; for

for what greater Piece of good Fortune could happen to them in the present *Crisis* of Affairs, than to be able to create a Coolness and Misunderstanding betwixt two Powers so strictly united by the dearest Ties of mutual Amity, when they are upon the Point of being jointly engaged in a War with the Emperor, for *settling the Ballance of Europe*?

But, Sir, lest these Rumours should make any bad Impressions, I will beg Leave to inform you that you may venture to assure all those who may make any Enquiries about this Matter, that there is nothing in it which deserves the least Notice or Regard.

The Reports that have been so industriously spread in *London* have been transmitted to us in Writing, and I shall have the Honour of proving to you, in this short Letter, that some of them are Falshoods, others Misrepresentations, and that, upon the whole, the most Christian King, our great Monarch, has not violated the Faith of any Treaty now subsisting, much less has he attempted to deceive so good and *advantagious an Ally* as *England* in any thing that has been done at *Dunkirk*.

In the first Place we are told that certain Masters of Ships, who, for some time past, have traded betwixt this Place and the Port of *London*, have confidently asserted that there is no less than two and twenty Foot Water betwixt the *Juttees* at Spring-Tide. — This I think myself oblig'd to contradict, for I can assure you, upon the Word of a Gentleman, nay, I will stake my whole Honour upon it, that it is *false*, for I have caused it to be *sounded* with the utmost Nicety and Exactness, and there is found to be no more than *twenty one Foot, eleven Inches and a half*.

In the second Place, our Advices inform us that the same Persons offer'd to depose, that they had frequently seen no less than an hundred Sail of Ships

in the very Harbour, that Harbour which was supposed to be nothing but a Bed of Mud; but here again I can convict them of another Falshood, for at the Time that I am writing this Letter, there are no more than *ninety nine* Sail of Ships in the said Harbour, and some of those of no great Burthen.

Thirdly, They report that they were present when the Piles were drawn out, which were driven in at the Time of the Demolition, in Order to cut off the Communication betwixt the Harbour and the Chanel; and here indeed I will allow they may happen to speak Truth, because these Piles were drawn out in the Sight of Day, before many hundred Witnesses, and it is not impossible but these Men might be amongst the Croud; but if they assert it was done with Design of letting the Water into the Harbour from the Chanel, or, in other Words, of opening the Communication again, they misrepresent the Thing quite; they might as well say it was done to let out a little dead and stagnated Water that lay in the Harbour, for the same Opening that lets Water in will let it out, and this last would have been the most favourable Construction of the Two. — But neither of these was the Case, for the plain Truth is, some of the Piles were grown a little crooked, and they were drawn out in order to be made streight, or that their Place might be supply'd by others; and if these Gentlemen had taken the Pains to look about them, they might have seen near three hundred very good Trees lying upon the Bank-Side, which may be turn'd into excellent Piles, and without doubt will be put to that Use *whenever this Work is to be undertaken again.*

As to the new Wharf or Causeway on the East Side of the Chanel, which is carried as far as *Chasteau Galliard*, and supported with strong Piles, it was only built for the Conveniency of Ships to load and unload their Goods, and cannot sure be understood
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in any Sense to be an Infraction of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, because it was undertaken and carried on altogether at the Expence of the Inhabitants of the Town, his Majesty not having contributed a *Livre* towards it; nay, Sir, you may assure *our Friends* from me, that it was done without so much as the Consent or Participation of his Majesty, for it was carried on (as we may express it) in *the Dark*, the Men working *Night* and *Day* 'till they had finish'd it, and tho' the Soldiers of the Garrison were employ'd in it, which Circumstance may be laid hold of (by those who would be glad it might prove a Bone of Contention) to insinuate that it must be done by his Majesty's Order; yet you, who are a military Man, and must be acquainted with the Humour of Soldiers, may easily remove that Objection, for you must know that Soldiers will work or fight for any Person that will pay them.

The Ship lately built and launched here, which is now gone upon her Voyage, is said in *England* to be able to carry six and thirty Guns, whereas it is well known she had no more than four and twenty mounted. — Indeed there are two others upon the Stocks, which are bored for more; but if this shou'd give any Uneasiness, I will venture to engage that there shall not be above four and twenty Guns mounted upon each.

But as I have occasionally mentioned the Treaty of *Utrecht*, I conceive it may be necessary to look back and examine it a little farther, since by that we must be judg'd whether or no there are any substantial Grounds for all this Clamour, and when I have examined it thoroughly, I have the Satisfaction to find that the Inhabitants of *Dunkirk* have used the utmost Cautions not to incur his Majesty's Displeasure, by violating the least Title of this Treaty.

It is stipulated by the ninth Article of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, that all the Fortifications, Harbours, Moles

Moles and Sluices shall be entirely destroy'd and demolish'd: and it is expressly mentioned in the said ninth Article of the said Treaty, that all the said Fortifications, Harbours, Moles and Sluices shall never be REPAIRED again, upon any Pretence whatsoever. ——— This last Part, I say, has been most religiously observed by the People of *Dunkirk*; they have REPAIRED Nothing, all the Works they have made, are intirely New.

Since therefore this Affair is contrary to no Treaties, and since it is greatly for the Advantage of the Subjects of both Kingdoms, we have Reason to flatter ourselves it will, by your good Offices, be represented in such a Light, in *England*, as that all the Jealousies and Suspicions of the People concerning it, may be removed.

The Advantages which the Subjects of *England* must find in it, are obvious enough. First, They will have one Port to trade to, more than they had before. Next, In stormy Weather, when the Wind blows from such Points that they cannot fetch any of their own Ports, they may find a safe Retreat and Harbour here; and therefore it is the more surprising that the Masters of Ships should have so little Regard to their own Interest as well as Safety, as to be the first People who should make a Noise about opening the Harbour of *Dunkirk*; nor can I help complaining of it to you, who are my Friend, as an Action of Ingratitude to us by whom they have been always civilly treated; many of their Ships at this Hour lie close to our new made Keys, where they can commodiously land or take in Goods, which Keys were made at our Expence for their Conveniency as much as our own, all which I think might deserve a better Return from them.

I don't doubt, Sir, but if you should make this in your Way to *England*, and I should have the Honour of conferring with you again, but I shall be
able

able to CONVINCE You that the People of *Dunkirk* could do no less than they have done, as well in regard to themselves as to their Fellow-Subjects, the Inhabitants of *Lisle*, *Valenciennes*, and *Douay*, whose Woollen Manufacture must lie upon their Hands if they had not the Port of *Dunkirk* open to export them to the *West-Indies*, which is the proper Market for such Goods; — *Brest* and *St. Maloes*, the two nearest Ports that can receive Ships of Burthen fit for the *India* Trade lie at so many Leagues Distance from them, that it would be impossible, without Loss, to carry heavy Goods so far by Land Carriage.

The People of *Dunkirk* have ever been averse to entertaining the least Thought of breaking the Treaty of *Utrecht*; which I believe Colonel *Lassels* will testify, who resided here many Years on the Part of the Government of *England*, to observe that the Stipulations in Relation to *Dunkirk* were observed on our Side; — If this Gentleman be still living, he will do us the Justice to witness that during his Continuance amongst us, nothing was done that could give the least Umbrage; — his being recall'd is a Proof there was no Suspicion of our *doing any thing we could not justify*; — nay, it is well known that we at first intended to make Use of *Mardyke*, but when we found by Experience that nothing but a little coasting Trade could be carried on that Way, and that the small Vessels we employed for that Purpose could not be brought in without Pilots, which besides the Danger is a great Expence when our foreign Trade was quite lost, what could we do but make Use of those Means which Providence had put in our Way for our Relief, and indeed we little expected that our carrying on our Trade in a peaceable and inoffensive Manner would be taken as an Offence to our Neighbours and Allies, considering that we have had Incouragements given us to hope that this was the proper Time to remove all Prejudices.

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I make no doubt, Sir, but all possible Assurances will be given you at *Versailles*, to enquire into this Affair, to redress all your Grievances, and to make you entirely easy about it, and you may depend upon it the King will punctually perform his Promise.— I hope, dear Sir, you understand me right ;—— I must repeat it again ; I say, you may count upon it, that whatever his Majesty should think fit to promise you, he will certainly be as good as his Word.

In the mean time, Sir, I must intreat you to make my Compliments to our Friends in *England*, and assure them from me, that as to what remains to be done, that Work shall be carried on in so private a Manner as to give no Offence for the future.

I have the Honour to be

Your most humble

And most obedient Servant

TUGGHE.



SATURDAY, Feb. 14, 1730.



THE following is an Abridgment of a Letter to a Member of Parliament, printed 1695. The Author seems to be possess'd with a glorious Spirit of Liberty, and scorn'd to purchase the aggrandizing his Family with the Loss of the Reputation and Interest of his Country.

The

The Author, after applauding the Justice of the House of Commons for ejecting a corrupt Member, and touching lightly on the Endeavours of *Marcus Antoninus* to reform the *Roman* State then sinking almost past Recovery through *Bribery* and *Corruption*, proceeds thus ;

I pray God, Sir, there may be no Room for a Paralell betwixt *Rome* at that Time and *England* now : I would fain hope that it may be in the Power of a Prince that possesses all the good Qualities of *Antoninus*, to retrieve *England* from the Fate it deserves, and yet you'll agree with me, that in most Kind of Vices we exceed *Rome* itself, even in its most degenerate Times.

I confess there are some Vices that, instead of bringing Ruin to a Country, may sometimes help by Accident to raise it to a higher Pitch of Glory ; such are *Ambition*, *Emulation*, *Thirst* after *Dominion*. These were the darling Vices of the ancient *Romans*, and the illustrious Crimes by which they rose from a beggarly Village to a universal Monarchy : There are others that tend naturally to the Destruction of a State, such as *Covetousness*, *Corruption*, and preferring private *Intrests* to that of the *Publick*.

These last were seldom or never heard of in the first and best Ages of the *Roman* Empire. The Genius of *Rome* moved in a higher Orb ; Glory and Renown were the Deities they ador'd ; nor could the *Roman* Eagle stoop to so low a Quarry as that of Gold. Time was, my Friends, when *Cincinnatus* was brought from the Plow-Tail to take upon him the supreme Command, and when he had saved his Country, he return'd to his Plow again ; his whole Estate, when he came to be *Dictator*, was but seven Acres of Ground ; and so far was he from purchasing more, that he sold three of them to pay what he had fall'n short of in his publick Accounts.

There was a Time when a *Paulus Emilius*, in his Triumph over *Perseus*, carried up to the Capital the inestimable Spoils of the Kingdom of *Macedon*, which the Kings of that Country had been heaping up for some Hundreds of Years ; of all that vast Amass of Treasure the noble Conqueror kept nothing to himself ; and when he came to die, all he left behind him was not sufficient to make a tolerable Maintenance for his Wife ; a Glorious Poverty, and a renowned Want ! That inimitable Pattern of Magnanimity, *Attilus Regulus*, after he had destroy'd the Riches of *Carthage* by the Success of many Battles in *Africk*, came to understand that the Senate had continued his Command for a Year longer ; whereupon he writes a very earnest and submissive Letter to the Consuls, telling them, that the Bayliff of his little Farm in the Country was dead, and that one he had hired since was run away with all the Utensils of his Husbandry, and therefore desires Leave to come home, lest his Land lying untill'd, his Wife and Children should want Bread. What need to instance more of this Kind ? The *Greek* and *Roman* Story are full of them.

But perhaps you may say that these Men had no Opportunities of being rich, and therefore it was against their Wills they died so poor. - No, Sir, but on the contrary, these I have named wanted no Opportunity to enrich themselves, if they had pleased : Not only vast Sums of the publick Money passed thro' their Hands, but immense Riches of conquer'd Provinces. These Men fought for their Country, for Liberty, for Glory, and scorned to stoop to any other Recompence but the Praise and Satisfaction of having done well.

But perhaps you may tell me they were Fools in all this : Be it so, as the World goes now ; but let me tell you, it was by such Follies as these that *Rome* not only conquer'd Provinces but *Hearts* too, and to-

together with their Arms did propagate Morality, Civility, Arts and Sciences among the numerous People they subdu'd; if you ask me how it came to pass then that, notwithstanding all these sublime Vertues of the ancient *Romans*, *Rome* at length became a Prey first to its own Citizens, and afterwards to foreign Nations; I answer, it was CORRUPTION that occasion'd this wonderful and dismal Change.

When Vertue and Merit entituled Men to Employment, the Commonwealth of *ROME* was happy; but after that Money came into the Scale, such Men came into Places as became both the Bane and the Shame of the *Roman* State. What was it that brought the *Grecian* Government, so much celebrated in ancient History, to Ruin? Was it not Corruption? *Philip* of *Macedon* made his Advantage of it: He bought more Cities than he conquer'd, and bragg'd that there was none so strong but an Ass laden with Gold might enter into it. What was it made *Carthage*, the once Rival of *Rome*, to become a Heap of Rubbish? Was it not Corruption? The brave *Hannibal* found it a harder Task to struggle with the corrupted Faction of *Hanno* at home, than to wage War with the *Romans* abroad; and the once flourishing *Carthaginian* Commonwealth first became a Prey to the Avarice of its own Citizens, before she was forc'd to submit to the conquering Sword of *Scipio*.

Yet, Sir, give me Leave to do both the *Romans*, *Greeks* and *Carthaginians* the Justice as to acquit them of one Kind of Corruption that's to be found in the Age we now live in: I cannot call to Mind that ever they enrich'd themselves with the Money that was destin'd for the Safety of their Country; nor can you give any Instance of one of them that fill'd his own Coffers with what was given by the People for Maintenance of their Armies in Times of imminent Hazard of their State: Even in the

most degenerated Ages of the World, it was accounted Sacrilege, to divert to any *private Use* the Money that was set apart for so great an End.

Among all Nations such Money was held equally sacred with that appointed for the Service of their Gods, and to purloin the least Farthing from either the one or the other was ever branded with the Blackest Mark of Infamy.

The Poet had Reason to exclaim against the sacred Hunger of Gold in the Times he lived in ; but there have been Times since when he wou'd have had much more Reason to do so. There have been Men since that behaved themselves in the Government by which they were trusted as tho' they had been in an Enemy's Country ; their Manner of taking Money look'd like the sacking of a conquer'd Town, for whatever came in their Way, they regarded as fair Plunder. If a Stranger were to come into such a Land and observe those People's Actions, he would take the Nation to be upon the Point of breaking, and some Men for Bankrupts ready to carry off what they can of the Publick Stock.

I would ask you a Question, whether you think those Men who take Money with *both their Hands* from their own Countrymen, might not be tempted to take the same from the Enemies of it ? For my Part, if I were to follow that Trade, I should rather deal with a *French* than an *English* Customer, and it seems to me more generous in itself, and less hurtful to my Country, to ease the *French* Monarch of some of his superfluous Gold than to rob my Neighbours here at home of any of theirs.

But perhaps you'll tell me that some Gentlemen of this Character never betray'd their Trust, that is, were never tempted into another Interest. No Thanks to them for that. I can scarce believe but its rather for want of being able to better their Condition, than for any Principle or hearty Affection

to their Country; for its natural enough to conclude that he who can be bought with Money, will yield himself to him that bids most. If such Men, instead of *pisfering* at home, could find a Way to take Money from their Enemies, in the Manner and with the Design that 'tis said a *Late Minister of France* took that of a neighbouring State, I should heartily forgive them.

The Story goes thus; Monsieur *Colbert* acquainted his Master of an Offer had been made him of a considerable Pension from a foreign Minister, if he would engage to give him Notice from Time to Time of the *French* Designs; the King not only allowed but commanded him to accept it, laying down at the same Time a Scheme how the Intelligence to be given should keep up *Colbert's* Interest with that foreign Minister, but withal should be of Advantage to the *French* King. Thus the one had his Pension, and the other was egregiously cheated both of his Money and Intelligence. A nice Kind of Counter-Plot, and to be entrusted with none but those whose Fidelity a Prince has as much Reason to be assured of as the *French* King of Monsieur *Colbert's*. But, alas! my Friend, when once the Love of Money gets the Ascendant, all other Passions and Interests must stoop to its Sway; and Gold with a Man of that Temper will prove too heavy, tho' his Country and Religion were laid in the other Scale.

It was a severe Exclamation of *Jugurtha*, when being sold and betray'd to *Sylla*, he was brought within View of *Rome*. *O! Urbem venalem!* (says he) *quandoque perituram si haberes Emptorem.* O mercenary Town! one Time or another must needs perish, if ever it chance to meet with a Buyer. A Saying that will hold good to the End of the World, of all Nations where *Bribery* and *Corruption* get Footing. When Corruption once comes to over-run a Nation,

Nation, Virtue itself becomes a Crime, and he that is guilty is sure to fare best. Its a known Story to this Purpose, of the *Spaniard* writing to his Friend, a Vice-Roy of *Mexico*. You are here accused (says he) of cheating the King of some Millions of Money in your Government. *All I can say, is, if it be true, you are safe, if otherwise, you are undone.*



SATURDAY, Feb. 28, 1730.



MR. *Richard Steel* formerly took great Pains to convince the Nation of what great Importance it was to the People of *England* to see *Dunkirk* demolish'd, not only in Case of a Rupture with *France*, but considering it merely as a trading Port, and supposing there should be a perpetual Peace betwixt the two Nations. These are his Words.

"The Port of *London* is allowed to carry two Parts in three, or six Parts in nine of the foreign Trade of *England*. — We may give one Ninth to the Ports on the South Coasts of this Island, which South Coast is opposite to the North Coast of *France*, the Sea between which is what we call the Chanel.

"The East End of this, on our Side, is the North Foreland, which stands opposite to *Neaport* in *France*. — The West End, on our Side, is the Land's Ends, over against *Ushant* or *Brest* in *France*. — They allow one Ninth of the Trade to the East Coast wash'd by the *German* Ocean; and the other Ninth to the West Coast which looks on the *Irish* Seas. *Dun-*

kirk

“ *kirk* is from the South Foreland about thirteen
 “ Leagues, and the Coast from *Dunkirk* to the Fore-
 “ land *West North West*, to the Entrance of the
 “ River *Thames*, is North West about twenty
 “ Leagues; so that an Easterly Wind that carries
 “ our Ships down the Chanel, at the same Time
 “ brings those of *Dunkirk* to meet and intercept
 “ them.—The *French* have very frequently in the
 “ last War reaped the Advantage of this Situation,
 “ by surprizing many Ships, and taking others, as
 “ they lay at Anchor in the *Downs*; when the
 “ *French* are dispossest of the Harbour of *Dun-*
 “ *kirk*, the Dread and Danger of their Men of War
 “ of any considerable Force, will be removed as
 “ far as *Brest*, which is a hundred and twenty
 “ Leagues, or three hundred and sixty Miles, and
 “ that of their Privateers of any Consideration as
 “ far as *St. Maloes*, which is seventy eight Leagues
 “ or two hundred and thirty four Miles.

“ *Brest* lies without the Chanel under this great
 “ Incapacity to hurt us, that the same Wind that
 “ carries our Trade down the Chanel, prevents
 “ the Ships of *Brest* from coming into it.

“ The East End of the Chanel which lies so much
 “ exposed to *Dunkirk* is but seven Leagues broad,
 “ and gives an Enemy an Opportunity of seeing our
 “ Ships from Side to Side. The West End of the
 “ Chanel, for which the greatest Fears are, from
 “ *Brest* is twenty eight Leagues broad, and of
 “ Course, there is at that End a greater Chance of
 “ escaping the Enemy.

“ If Ships from *Brest* are appointed to way-lay
 “ our Ships in the Chanel, they must take the Op-
 “ portunity of Westerly Winds to come into it,
 “ and wait the coming of an Easterly Wind to car-
 “ ry our Ships down it.—By this Means, they
 “ must all at that Time be at Sea, exposed to all
 “ Dangers for Want of a Port in which to harbour
 “ their

“ their Men of War, or return to *Brest*, which
 “ they cannot do with the Wind that brought
 “ them.

“ We must add to this, that if the *French* from
 “ *Brest* should be hovering to the Eastward of *Ply-*
 “ *mouth*, they are between two Fires, from those
 “ Ships in the *Downs* and those from *Plymouth*; and
 “ our Ships from *Portsmouth* may chase them either
 “ Way, while they are way-lay’d at each End of
 “ the Chanel by the others, not having the Port
 “ of *Dunkirk*, or any other in the Chanel to afford
 “ them Shelter.

“ Thus should they be chased up the Chanel by
 “ a too great Force, before they can return to *Brest*,
 “ they must either run into the *German Ocean*,
 “ and wait another Opportunity of coming down
 “ again, with the Hazard of meeting all our Men
 “ of War, or else sail North about *Great Britain*,
 “ which is at least five hundred and fifty Leagues
 “ more than they need have sail’d, with the Port of
 “ *Dunkirk* to fly to.

“ This Want of *Dunkirk* will expose them to
 “ the same Inconvenience to which the Fear of it
 “ often obliged our running Ships from the South
 “ Parts of the World as well as our *East-India* Men,
 “ during the late War.—To this Distress you are
 “ to add Wages, Provisions, Loss of Time, and
 “ the dangerous Navigation of the North Seas.

“ From hence it plainly appears that by the De-
 “ molition of *Dunkirk*, in Case of a Rupture with
 “ *France*, six Parts in nine of our Trade from
 “ the Port of *London*, is three hundred and thirty
 “ Miles removed from the Hazards of the last
 “ War; and tho’ Part of this must be exposed,
 “ when it passes through the *Chops* or Western En-
 “ trance of the Chanel, it must be considered that
 “ this it was also liable to before, besides the Ter-
 “ rors of *Dunkirk*, and that this is only the Southern

“ Trade,

" Trade,—and that all that go to *Holland, Hamborough*, and other Northern Countries, will be quite out of Danger.

" The Ninth of our Trade on the East Coast would be still safer.

" From the distinct Considerations, you observe that only the Ninth of the Trade on the *Irish Seas*, and *Bristol Chanel*, and Part of the other Ninth on the Coast of the Chanel (to come at which they are in Danger from *Portsmouth* to *Plymouth*) is the whole of the *British* Trade which, after the Demolition of *Dunkirk*, will lie open to the Assaults of the *French*.

" The Demolition of *Dunkirk* will, in a great Measure, secure seven Ninths of the Trade of *England* from the Power of *France* at Sea.—
" The *French* have no Port in the Chanel but *St. Maloes*, which is capable of harbouring any great Ships, and that itself can receive none which are capable of carrying more than thirty or forty Guns.

" *Brest* lies thirty five Leagues from the *Lizard Point*, which is the nearest Land of *England*.—
" Their Ships must have an Easterly Wind to come out, and that will serve them no farther than to the Chops of the *Chanel*, because it blows directly down it.

" The Course to go from *Brest* to cruize off the *Lizard Point*, in order to annoy us, is first West about thirteen Leagues, and then North or North and by East about thirty Leagues more, except they run the Hazard of going within the Island of *Ushant*, which is never practised, and therefore we may suppose it to be impracticable.

" In the last Place, our Charge in defending ourselves from such Annoyance as we formerly had from *Dunkirk*, will decrease in Proportion to the Removal of the Danger.

" Such

“ Such is the Importance of the Demolition of
 “ *Dunkirk*, with Regard to the Trade of *England*
 “ only, — and in the present Conjunction, I think
 “ we ought to have something more than the MER-
 “ CY OF THE MOST CHRISTIAN KING, to render
 “ the forbearing such Demolition less hazardous
 “ to our Liberty as well as Trade.

“ All that is of Consequence to us is that *Dunkirk*
 “ *should no longer be a Receptacle for Ships*——for the
 “ Demolition of it as a Garrison is of much less
 “ Consideration, if not wholly insignificant.

“ I say, if by the Industry of the People of
 “ *France*, or their great Faith in keeping of Trea-
 “ ties, *Dunkirk* could again be made capable of re-
 “ ceiving as large Ships as it did before the Demo-
 “ lition, of Consequence *Dunkirk* must be the same
 “ Terror to *England* that it was before that Time.

“ Thus it must be in respect to us, in case we
 “ and the *French* should ever become Enemies.

“ But allowing (what cannot be granted but for
 “ Argument's Sake) that there should be a sincere
 “ and lasting Friendship betwixt us and *France* for
 “ ever, yet if *Dunkirk* should remain a Port, it must
 “ be our Rival in Point of Trade, for there is no-
 “ thing that can support the Stuff Manufactures of
 “ *Doway, Valenciennes, St. Omers, Lille*, and the
 “ other rich Towns of *French Flanders*, but an Ac-
 “ cess to this Port for Ships of Burthen,—— for
 “ it is well known that the light Woollen Stuffs
 “ which are made in all those Places, are put on
 “ Board of Ships at *Dunkirk*, and carried to the
 “ *West-Indies*, without which the Trade of all those
 “ Towns would be as effectually lost as the Trade
 “ of *Amwerp* has been for many Years, by what
 “ the *Hollanders* did to the River *Scheld*, in order to
 “ destroy its Navigation.

“ Thus we have hinted how we may be affected
 “ by this Place, both in Peace and War; but what

“ Utc

“ Use may be made of it, in Case of a sudden Reso-
 “ lution in the *French* to start out of one into the
 “ other, or in plain *English* to break the Peace
 “ without the Declaration of War, and surprize us
 “ at once!

“ Or suppose that by some Artifice or Evasion
 “ (however trifling and silly) this Harbour should
 “ again be opened.—I remember to have read a
 “ little Treatise in *French* call'd the *History of false*
 “ *Promises, since the Treaty of the Pyrenees*, which
 “ has one Thing very remarkable in it.

“ The Author tells us, that the *French* in a Trea-
 “ ty which they made with *Spain*, obtain'd an
 “ Article, that whatever should be found within the
 “ Dominions of either State, at the Time of the
 “ Ratification, should belong to the respective
 “ Sovereign.—*The French pillag'd a Wood, and*
 “ *carried the Timber out of the bordering Territories of*
 “ *Spain, into those of France, in order to profit, as they*
 “ *did, by this Article.*

“ This was a Kind of Petty Larceny in Politicks;
 “ but there is *Nothing too mean for Ambition.*

“ I don't know what the *French* will do now,
 “ but I should be very sorry to see a great Deal in
 “ their Power.

“ The *French* attack'd a Minor King of *Spain*,
 “ in profound Peace, in sixteen hundred seventy
 “ seven.

“ Their Emissaries in *Holland* made Medals for
 “ the *Dutch* against *France*, and made those very
 “ Inventions the Pretence for beginning a War.—

“ Who has not read the barbarous Invasion of
 “ the Low Countries?—The *English* ought in par-
 “ ticular to remember the Treatment of the *British*
 “ Troops recall'd from the *French* Service, after
 “ the Abandoning of *Messina*.

“ The Surprize of *Luxemburgh* in Time of Peace,
 “ is a good Thing to set now before our Eyes;

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U

“ The

" The Surprize of *Strasbourg*;
 " The most Christian King's March of his Armies
 " to the Frontiers of *Germany* in Favour of the
 " *Turk*;
 " The French Failure to their Allies, the *Turks*.
 " All these Circumstances might be added to
 " what has pass'd in our Days, to quicken our Ap-
 " prehensions from an ALLY, who has ever form'd
 " his Greatness upon what is, with honest and sober
 " Minds, the Disgrace and Degeneracy of humane
 " Nature, the Affectation of extending Power,
 " without Regard to the Means of doing it.

Every Sentence that is here quoted is taken out of the Writings of the late Sir *Richard Steel*, who, for the Space of eight or nine Months, could not write a Line that had not *Dunkirk* in it.

When it was first put into our Possession, it was the strongest Fortress in *Europe*, or perhaps in the World; and it was then this Gentleman began his Clamour, because the Demolition was not enter'd upon soon enough; and tho' one would think that this should be more the Concern of the *French* than us, yet his Cry was, *We have no Right to keep it, but in Order for the Demolition of it.*

It may seem strange that while a Man could not say one civil Thing of the *French*, he should make Use of an Argument for the Demolition of *Dunkirk* which seem'd to be of their Side of the Question; but the Truth on't was, our good Friends, the *Dutch*, were willing to have us out of it as soon as they could. It was a Saying at that Time, that *Dunkirk in the Hands of the English was a Bridle which the Queen had put into the Mouths of other Nations as well as of the French*; and the Whiggs in this only spoke the Sense of the *Dutch*; — it was a *Dutch* Interest which warm'd their Hearts; they had nothing to do with that of their own Country.

Suppose

Suppose the *French* had been as perfidious in Treacheries as Sir *Richard Steel* endeavoured to represent them, and that they had not begun the Demolition in this Day, and of consequence that *England* had been left in Possession of that impregnable Fortress, what mighty Terrors could there be in all this? Would we have made it a Receptacle for a Squadron of *French* Men of War? or appointed it as the Port for the Exportation of the Woollen Manufactures of *France* to the *West-Indies*?

But after the Demolition was begun, there was a new Complaint; it was not finished exactly to the Day appointed; nay, after all the Fortifications were quite levell'd, the Party talk'd loud that our Garrison was expos'd to be surpriz'd by the *French* before the Basin was quite fill'd up; and after all this was done, and the Garrison was call'd home, ——— it being represented that small Vessels could come near the Town, by means of the Canal of *Mardyke*, it was thrown in the Teeth of the Ministers at Home, by the honest Party, in these civil Words;

“ There are not Words to represent the infamous Behaviour of a Ministry, to cover so great and pernicious an Imposture upon their Country
 “ as the Improvement of the Port of *Dunkirk*, under
 “ the Pretence of the Demolition of it.

Such was the Behaviour of the Whiggs at the Time while several hundreds of Men were at Work in destroying the Works, and ruining the Harbour of *Dunkirk*; but what would they have said, if it had been known that several hundreds had been employ'd in opening the Harbour, and rendering the Chanel which leads to it navigable again for Ships of great Burthen? ——— Would the Voice of STENTOR have been loud enough to have proclaim'd their Triumphs over the Ministry? Would not all the Terms of *Billingsgate* and the *Beargarden* have

been exhausted in Reproaches upon their Negligence or *Treachery*, ——— and indeed we cannot say but there would have been Reason for it.

But how happy are we at present in Ministers that are not so much as suspected of conniving at the Breach of Treaties, or winking at Measures destructive to their Country? ——— We are well assured that it would employ a considerable Number of Men for two Years, to make the Harbour and Chanel of *Dunkirk* again navigable for Ships of any Burthen, and the Persons we have the Happiness to employ in foreign Negotiations, are Persons of such *fine Address* as well as *deep Penetration*, that nothing can escape their Knowledge; so that had a Pick-Ax been mov'd at *Dunkirk*, they would have done their Duty, and alarm'd their Country, that the very Attempt might have been prevented, for should we look on 'till it was finish'd, we *must rely upon the Courtesy of France either to keep it open or to begin a new Demolition*.

But I will put the Thing stronger. ——— If the Harbour of *Dunkirk* had now been open, and *France* should promise (upon a Complaint) to inspect the Affair, and make us easy about it, certainly that would be sufficient to satisfy all Men of Sense (notwithstanding that the Whiggs represent them as People who always *chicane* where their Interest is concern'd) but here is an unanswerable Reason for it. — The *French* are no Fools, and therefore they must know, we are not to be trifled with at a Time that we have such *wise and able Ministers in our Affairs*; I say, *France* may see, with Respect to *Spain*, what these great Men can do against the Enemies of their Country, whenever they please to exert themselves.



SATURDAY, *March 7, 1730.*



MAN who makes his Observations upon History, will find that Men of Genius in Arts and Professions have not appeared in the World at all Times alike; they rise like Comets, at some particular Seasons: One Age has been fertile in military Heroes, another has produced Philosophers or great Mathematicians.

I will not determine whether the present Age can value itself upon either of these; yet I hope we may be allow'd to boast of a *Constellation* of most profound Politicians.

We are not only happy in Statesmen who can act great and wise Things, but in Writers who are fit to record them.

It is said that *Alexander* the Great lamented that he had not a *Homer* to celebrate his Actions to Posterity; our wise and able Ministers have no such Misfortune to lament; if they are the *Alexanders* of Politicks, there are others of the Party who are as much like *Homers*, and who are every Day chaunting their Praises to the People.

Many bright Essays have lately appear'd to vindicate the Conduct of some Years past, and every one better than what went before it; the well-affected have found such Beauties in them, that they do not stick to give out that they proceed from the same wise Heads who have negotiated us into our present happy Situation; there is one which I much admire; It is entituled, *The Treaty of Seville, and the Measures*

that have been taken within these four last Years IMPARTIALLY consider'd.

This is the Master-piece of the Party; here they out-do their usual Out-doings; as Brutus was said to be the last and best of the Romans, so I hope I may be allow'd to pronounce this the last and best of Pamphlets.

The Remarks we here present the Publick upon it, should have been publish'd a Fortnight sooner, had we not been diverted by the Affair of *Dunkirk*, — since which another Paper has fallen upon it in a most unmerciful Manner; this makes the present Discourse, which is a Defence of it, the more necessary, for no Man has ventur'd either to write or speak a Word in its Justification, and we take its Part, because it is generous to side with the weakest.

Some Persons who have a Mind to compliment me, have been pleas'd to tell me, that it would make a good second Part to the Defence of the Treaty of *Seville*, given in this Paper some Weeks since, while the Disaffected, with their usual Malignity, have been heard to say, that it wants nothing but a little Wit and Humour to make it a Piece of Irony and Ridicule upon the Conduct of our wise and able Ministers.

As for my Part, I think the Author's Method is unexceptionable, for like a wise Man and a good Reasoner he takes care to give no direct Answer to any of the Objections that have been made to the Conduct of our wise and able Ministers. Sir *John Falstaff* says very merrily, that if Reasons were as plenty as Blackberries, he would not give one upon Compulsion, and why should we who engage in political Disputes?

I say, I am much pleas'd with this Author for following the Method which I myself had the Honour of proposing, that is, he dodges about from Treaty to Treaty, till his Opposers don't know where to have him.

But

But to come nearer to our Purpose; our Author begins his Defence from the Time of the *Vienna* Treaty, (let our Conduct before that answer for itself) and he tells us it was that Treaty which forced us upon the immense Charge of Fleets and Armies for these three or four Years,—not the Treaty of *Vienna* which appear'd, but another Treaty of *Vienna* which never did appear, that is to say, a secret Treaty. — But how is it prov'd there was such a secret Treaty? Why, by its being denied both by the Imperial and *Spanish* Ministers,—for, as my Author very elegantly expresses it, *when Ministers do what they ought not, they will deny it when it is done*,—and yet in another Place he thinks that it was not denied neither, for the Duke of *Ripperda*, at that time prime Minister, and who ought to know, drop'd some Words about a secret Treaty, and because he would have them kept a Secret, he told some of the Articles once at Dinner, to a great Deal of Company; so here are two Proofs, and I will beg Leave to add a third, which I believe will be allowed to be as good as either of the former; that it was not only denied then, but is denied at this Day by the Ministers of *Spain*, tho' they are in Friendship with us and at Variance with the Emperor; so here are three Proofs that there was a secret Treaty; besides, our Ambassador sent Word there was such a Treaty, and I presume, says this ingenious Author, that *Nobody will give the King's Minister, now Lord Harrington, the Lye*; — to which I add, I wish they did, for then we might come upon them with *Scand. Mag.* which perhaps would be the best Argument that has been yet used in the whole Dispute.

But besides these most convincing Proofs, the Reason of the Thing speaks on our Side. The Imperial and *Spanish* Ministers deny'd and still continue to deny it, but has not a Minister of ours asserted it? and sure our Ministers must know much better than either the Imperial or *Spanish*, whether there

was

was a secret Treaty betwixt the Emperor and Spain, otherwise to what Purpose do we pay such vast Sums yearly for secret Service?

Our Author has also given us other Reasons, for the Necessity we were under of quarrelling with the Emperor.

The Emperor is now Master of a Sea-Port Town, I mean *Ostend*, and there are about seven or eight Sail of Ships belonging to his Subjects, which are employ'd in the *India* Trade, it is a Number of Merchant Ships which must be the Support of a Royal Navy, and who knows but he might fit a powerful Fleet in a Year or two to *beard* us in our own Channel; these are the Author's Words.

" The great Objection I have to the *Ostend* Trade
 " is not merely as it is Trade, but what I think of
 " much greater concern to *England*, as it is setting
 " up a new Naval Power in *Europe*, and that at our
 " Door as it were, and in our Chancel; ———
 " *We suffered enough by the Dunkirk Squadrons in the*
 " *two last Wars* not to be sensible what a Prejudice
 " it would be to the *British* Commerce to have the
 " like Squadrons always lying in wait for us at
 " *Ostend*; — But if *Ostend* were not so near, it is
 " infinitely our Concern not to suffer a new Naval
 " Power to be set up, if we can possibly hinder it.—
 " If our Fleet is our Glory and our Strength, as
 " we are perpetually told it is, especially by the
 " Gentlemen on the other Side, I will ask, how it
 " came to be so? Is it not because we are superior
 " at Sea to any other Power? but how long shall
 " we be able to maintain our Superiority if new
 " Naval Powers are suffer'd to rise? Is not all
 " Power comparative? and will not the greatest
 " Power of any Nation become meer Weakness, if
 " it becomes easy for the neighbouring Powers, by
 " any Union of their Fleets, to become greatly
 " superior to it. ——— The *British* Fleet can no
 " longer

“ longer be considerable than while it is greater
 “ than any that can be combined against it, but
 “ that it is impossible it should long be, if the Em-
 “ peror can ever have a Naval Strength.

This is good Reasoning, only that it happens to be a little unlucky at this Time to harp so much upon *Dunkirk*; however, in the Author's Excuse, I would have it observ'd that his Pamphlet came out before *Tuesday* the 10th of *February*; had it been publish'd since, I will venture to answer, he would not have insert'd the Word *Dunkirk* for an Hundred Pounds, a great deal of Money in *Grub-street*.

But since there is no recalling what is past, he may, in his next Edition shew us the Advantage it would be to the trading Subjects of *Great Britain*, that the Harbour of *Dunkirk* should be repair'd, because when the *French* have again made up their Squadron, and that Squadron is joined to the Navy of *England*, I don't fear but we shall be able to make Head against all the Fishing-Boats in *Ostend*, which is all the Fleet the Emperor is Master of, however formidable his Navy may be represented; therefore why may we not now cry out that the *People of England expect to see the Harbour of Dunkirk opened?*

This Author well observes that our Fleet is our *Glory and our Strength*, because it is greater than any other, which it is impossible it should long be, if the Emperor can ever have a Naval Strength equal or superior to it.

Here no doubt I shall agree with him; but there is also another Reason why it is our *Glory and our Strength*, and that is, because *we make such good Use of it*, for Power in the Hands of weak and ignorant Ministers would turn to no great Glory: It would neither gain us Honour or Reputation by a War, nor Advantages by a Peace: To a People in this Situation, Strength and Valour are of no Use.

His

His Insinuation that the Emperor's Fleet may be superior to ours by being joined to others, I think might as well have been let alone; it may turn our Apprehensions towards *France*, and the Malecontents may say that the *French*, by this long Friendship with us, have had Opportunities of nursing up a Fleet which may be one Day turn'd against us, that the Opening of the Harbour of *Dunkirk* looks like it, and is an high Insult upon the Nation; the Disaffected, I say, may urge all this, tho' the Parliament should be of another Opinion, and cry out, this is the Fruit of *unnatural Alliances*.—— A Man should never furnish his Adversaries with Arguments against himself.

As to the great and expensive Naval Expeditions which we have made for several Years past, he has accounted for them by Reasons which are altogether new, it will be too long to quote the whole of what he has said upon this Subject, but, to collect it in a few Words, it will amount to this;

“ That our wise and able Ministers thought fit
 “ to make these Armaments, because they knew
 “ well the State of the Nation, the Load of the
 “ publick Debt, and the Difficulty of laying new
 “ Taxes, and when they were fitted out, it was
 “ advisable to give the Commanders pacifick Or-
 “ ders, as the best Means of procuring us a speedy
 “ and advantageous Peace.

I take all this to be unanswerable,——for these Hostile Appearances are supposed by some to have given the *Spaniards* the same Provocation as if our Fleets had committed open Hostilities, and were revenged accordingly upon our Merchants; yet this cannot be imputed to any wrong Judgment in our Ministers, it is only to be called a Misfortune.

Indeed his Manner of accounting for the glorious Expedition to *Spithead*, may perhaps be turn'd into
 Ridicule

Ridicule by the Malignant Wit of the Disaffected, for the Author speaking of that Armament, expresses himself thus ; ——— *These VIGOROUS MEASURES had an excellent Effect, for it was apprehended that the Spanish Fleet would have been sent upon an Expedition to the West-Indies, but they did not dare to leave their own Coast naked and defenceless, while they knew there was so strong a Squadron in the Channel, ready to sail, upon the first Orders.*

I know the Disaffected will say that they always believ'd 'till now that a Fleet of Spaniards would have run as far as the *West-Indies* to avoid the Fleet of *England*, but here they kept in the Way on Purpose to face them, nay (say the Disaffected) by this Author's Manner of representing the Thing, it looks as if the Spaniards had intimidated the *English* and kept them at Home.

But to this, I think, we may answer, that the *Spanish* Fleet was kept at home to make the best Defence they could, for the Spaniards know by late Experience, *what an English Fleet, under good Orders, can do, when it comes upon their Coasts.*

The Disaffected have taken great Pains to put the Treaty of *Seville* into a bad Light, by an artificial Comparifon which they have made betwixt it and *Oliver's Treaty* with the *Dutch*, but that fallacious Way of Reasoning is very well expos'd in this Pamphlet, for it is very well observ'd that *Oliver* beat the *Dutch* into a Compliatce ; but what Victories have we obtained over the *Spaniards*, that we should expect the same Concessions ?

Every other Step that has been taken within these four last Years, is accounted for with the same good Sense, but the Disaffected seem to have shut their Eyes against Conviction ; such is their Malignity, that they openly repine at the prosperous Condition of some of our Allies, and some of them have been heard to say, they should be sorry to see the *French* conquer

conquer *Flanders*, which must be the Consequence of a successful War against the Emperor.

To what Purpose is it to reason with such unreasonable People? We can only appeal to the Publick which is in the Right. — Is it fair to endeavour to render those *great Men* little who have made their Country truly *great*? If Men would lay aside Prejudice, they would know that all these extraordinary Things could not be brought about without great Wisdom within; Yes, the present *flourishing Condition of this Nation, must cast a Glory upon our Ministers, not to be sullied by the malicious Pens of Party Writers.*



SATURDAY, *March* 21, 1730.



APPENING lately to light into a mixt Company, where the Conversation ran upon publick Affairs, and where some Things were censured with more Freedom than perhaps it may be convenient to write in this Place; One of the Company, who was a Person in a very good Employment, found himself so unhappily baffled in the Cause which he undertook to defend, that he was reduced to this one Argument, in Answer to every Thing that was urged on the other Side, *viz.* That tho' the Commonwealth shou'd suffer Hardships and Difficulties by the Conduct of those in the Administration, yet if they had done their Best, and nothing could be imputed to them but Want of Address, their Ignorance was not to be censured as a Crime.

This

This gave the Conversation another Turn, and from examining the Causes of particular unhappy Events, it was disputed, whether or no, Men in great Employments should be punish'd for the Mischiefs brought upon the People by their IGNORANCE.

The Gentleman in Employment, with great Zeal, espoused the Cause of *Ignorance*, and, after having advanced all that could be said in Defence of this *Favourite Point*, a Person in the Company drew a Book out of his Pocket, written by a *Civilian* of great Reputation, and out of it read the following Chapter, in which what may be said both for and against the Cause seems to be fairly stated.

Whether, and how, a Person that is a Counsellor of State ought to answer for the Events of Council and Conduct, and be punished for them?

"The *Thebans* being press'd with a heavy War by *Alexander* the Great, the *Arcadians* gave some Aid by sending several Thousands of their Citizens to their Assistance, but *Alexander* not long after did both overthrow the *Thebans* and entirely cut off the *Arcadian* Auxiliaries. — Now it was debated in the publick Assembly of the *Arcadians* what was to be done with the Authors of this unhappy Council.

OPINIONS.

"Some were of Opinion, that, as the Authors of the said Council were guilty of no Crime, so they ought to be exempt from all Punishment.

"*First*, — Because whatever Advice they gave with Design to do Good to the Commonwealth, they gave that Advice to a good End; and this they could bear Testimony to, and the contrary could not be maintain'd by their Accusers.

"*Secondly*, That none could ever be answerable for their Advice in the publick Assembly; for seeing there were many call'd to Council, it was

“ to be thought that either they would be all of
 “ one Opinion, or of different Sentiments. ———

“ If of one Opinion, what Need was there to call
 “ many Persons to give Advice in such Assemblies ?
 “ ——— If of different Sentiments, why should
 “ Men be punished for being of different Opinions,
 “ when they are permitted to do it there, and it is
 “ a solemn Act so to do ?

“ *Thirdly*, That it had been always conformable
 “ unto all Laws, that none should suffer for ano-
 “ ther's Crime ; but that this was not the Counsellor's
 “ Crime, but that of Fortune and Event.

“ *Fourthly*, Where could a Government be fur-
 “ nished with Counsellors, if they were to under-
 “ go the Severity of judicial Censures and Punish-
 “ ment, for that which Fortune rather acts than
 “ themselves, who have her not at their Command.

“ *Fifthly*, That there is no Punishment to be in-
 “ flicted where there is no Crime ; that the Fault
 “ here did not consist in the Counsels, but the Events,
 “ for the Event depended upon Fortune and not
 “ the Counsellors, and therefore it was clear that
 “ the Counsellors ought to be exempt from Pu-
 “ nishment.

“ But others entertain'd contrary Sentiments of
 “ the Action, and pressingly urg'd,

“ *First*, That it did not appear this Counsel was
 “ given with a Design to benefit the Commonwealth
 “ thereby ; when, if they had consider'd the great
 “ Power of *Alexander*, and the small Aid of the
 “ *Arcadians*, with the weak State of the *Thebans*,
 “ the Loss and Destruction that was now come to
 “ pass, might then have been easily foreseen by
 “ them, and therefore if they had ill Intentions,
 “ why should they not be punished as Traytors to
 “ the Commonwealth ? ——— But if rash and in-
 “ considerate, why should they not in like Man-
 “ ner suffer Punishment, for not discharging their

“ Duty

" Duty to the Government, as they should have done ?

" The bad Administration of Magistrates was punished by all Nations, and why should not such as gave Advice at the Helm be likewise punished for their Errors and Miscarriages? —

" It is their Business, in particular, to be wary, and give good Counsel, in respect to the Government, and they did not discharge but invert the End of their Duty, whenever the contrary was acted by them.

" Secondly, — Tho' none indeed ought to undergo another Man's Punishment, yet this was peculiar to the Counsellors, and the Advice given, and not to the Event. — But when is it that the Fault is in the Event? When Fortune does that which no one can do, or ought to foresee. — When is the Counsel to be blamed? Why, when a Person, through Inadvertency, does not sufficiently weigh the State and Fortune of Things. and for that Reason brings Ruin upon a People.

" As to Matters of Futurity, and such as depend upon Fortune, none is tied to answer for them, that, in consulting about future Affairs, seriously considers whatever refers to the present State of Things. — But that was not done in this Case, neither was the present Power of *Alexander* rightly weigh'd or consider'd by them, as it ought to have been, and therefore those that neglect to mind the State of present Things in Council, may justly be accounted the Authors of what is to come.

" Thirdly, — That none is bound to answer for their Counsels, tho' dissenting from others therein, (for Matters of Government are best weigh'd, when there is an Intermixture of different Opinions.) — But, in the mean Time, while this is the Rule they have in Point of dissenting Opinions, that these Persons, notwithstanding their

“ contrary Sentiments, have the Good of the Commonwealth always before them. — The Manner and End of the Counsel ought at least to be good.
 “ — Good Counsels are here to be compared with those that are better or best, and evil Counsels with those that are good. — That is good Counsel, for which there is some Reason, better or best that has a greater Reason for it; *bad* that has not, or else such as is contrary to the Good of the Government.

“ That no Person was bound to answer for good Counsel, tho’ others produced better; for tho’ he that gave the best Advice, deserved the greatest Commendation, yet he that only gave good Counsel deserved no Punishment. — But a Senator was undoubtedly bound to answer for bad Counsel, if the same were compared with the Good. — The Reason of the Punishment arises from his not being able to give a Reason for the Thing, or the Advice given, or from his administering Counsel that was pernicious to the Commonwealth, which no Man ought to do, without having Regard to the Good of the Publick. —
 “ In the mean Time there was no Reason to be given for this Counsel, nay, all Reason was against it; why should not they therefore be obliged to answer for it?

“ *Fourthly,* — We frequently find by Experience that the Sincerity and Intentions where-with a Person gives Advice, do not appear but by the Event, for who dares openly advise any thing against the Government? — *Many Things are transacted in Council dissimblingly*; and therefore when the Event is discovered, why should not they look back and enquire into the Counsels that have been given in the Case?

“ *Lastly,* — It is necessary that those who deliver their Opinions in Arduous Affairs, with so
 “ much

" much Confidence, should have so much Prudence,
 " as not only to seem to talk and debate of present
 " Things, but also as it were to prognosticate and
 " foretell what is likely to follow and come after.
 " ————— That therefore he was very justly
 " answerable for the Event that followed, who
 " ought to have taken care of the future Good of
 " the Government, not by Fortune, but the Use
 " and Exercise of sound Reason.

" If Ignorance be a Crime, as it is judged to be
 " in some Persons, (as it is the Opinion of all Civil
 " Lawyers) why should not Imprudence be reck-
 " oned so too? for if a Judge, according to the
 " Roman Laws, does thereby make his own Process,
 " why should not a Magistrate cause his own Mis-
 " fortune by it.

" It was queried in the same Roman Laws, whe-
 " ther a Guardian, besides the Trust reposed in
 " him, was also bound to give Advice, and answer
 " for the Event. ————— Why therefore should this
 " be a Doubt in Respect to a Councillor of State,
 " Magistrate, or the like Persons who are entrusted
 " with the Care and Guardianship of the Common-
 " wealth?

RESOLUTION.

" The last Opinion was agreed to, and those who
 " were the Cause of sending Troops to the Assistance
 " of the Thebans, against Alexander, who made a
 " terrible Slaughter of them, were PUT TO DEATH.

EVENT.

" Others, after the inflicting of this Punishment,
 " were more cautious in their Councils and Consul-
 " tations about Affairs of State.

JUDGMENT.

“ It is more especially useful and necessary for a
 “ Government, that its Counsellors should be an-
 “ swerable for those unsuccessful Events of Things
 “ which were occasioned rather by *Ignorance* and
 “ wrong Argumentation in Counsel, than by any
 “ adverse Fortune in acting, ——— for here the
 “ Counsellors were faulty, and therefore criminal,
 “ ——— *this having been the constant Practice of all*
 “ *wise Nations.*

Though one of our Disputants (I mean the Gentleman in Employment) could object nothing to the Reasons here laid down, yet he would not yield and give up the Cause, for such an Indulgence did he entertain for *Blundering and Ignorance*, that he still insisted upon it, that a Man ought not to be punished for acting to the best of his Capacity, let the Effects of his Counsel be what they would.

To this he was told on the other Side, that Politicks consisted in the Knowledge of the different Interests of all the Governments in the World, the open and secret Views of those that presided in their Councils, and the Manners of treating with them; that this Knowledge was not to be obtained, but either by Travel, Study, or Practice, back'd with a good Judgment; and that if Ministers of State were not to be punished for their Ignorance in these Points, it would often happen that Men of the *greatest Front and Impudence*, Persons with *ignorant Heads* and *rapacious Hands*, would find Means of imposing themselves upon the Prince, as Men of Wisdom and Knowledge, and when they had made their own Affairs easy, and distracted those of the Publick, when they had *rais'd Families*, built *Palaces*, and *heap'd up immense Riches*, they might retire from Business, leaving their Country embarrassed in
 their

their Blunders, and insolently tell the People, they have acted to the best of their Capacities.

If we should allow this to be just and reasonable, we may as well lay it down for a Maxim in Government, that *Ministers of State ought to know nothing at all of State Affairs.*

How strange it would have been in the Commonwealth of *Rome*, or in any of those of *Greece*, to hear Men acknowledge the Conduct of those entrusted with the publick Affairs, to be *weak and ignorant*, and all their Counsels pernicious and destructive to the Republick, and yet openly oppose all those who should endeavour to bring them to condign Punishment!

I will imagine myself in the Midst of some great Assembly, suppose an *Athenian* or *Spartan* Senate, where the Conduct of those in the Management of the State Affairs should, with all Freedom, be discussed; and suppose the Commonwealth to be brought into Trouble and Distress by their Mismanagement, without any unlucky Accident which could be laid to the Charge of Fortune or Providence; and one of those who had always distinguish'd himself by adhering to the private Interest of such as had *Places*, and *Pensions* to bestow, should rise up and make the following Speech.

GENTLEMEN,

“ I have had the Honour, these many Years, of sitting in this Assembly, but never observed so strong a Spirit of Disaffection against any Set of Men, as at present shews itself against those who have the Honour to conduct our Affairs; they have not only been represented as Squanderers of the publick Treasure, but as *weak, ignorant, and blundering Negotiators.*

“ The Loss of our Trade at home, and the Contempt which is shewn us abroad by foreign States,
“ are

“ are alike laid to their Charge.——But pray,
 “ Gentlemen, to what purpose is all this done? If
 “ this Spirit is kept up, must it not end in the De-
 “ struction of our Ministers and their Families, or,
 “ at least, will it not oblige us to change Hands?—
 “ The Gentlemen on the other Side cannot, say
 “ they will not, deny but this is the Thing they are
 “ driving at?

“ As for my Part, Gentlemen, my Purpose is to
 “ exhort you to Unanimity and Concord, to which
 “ Purpose, I conceive, it will be necessary that all
 “ past Miscarriages be forgot, that our Ministers
 “ may go on quietly to *exercise the same Abilities*,
 “ that they may finish the Work they have begun,
 “ for hitherto they have only brought the Publick
 “ into Poverty and Distress, but if they are well
 “ supported against their Opposers, they may do
 “ much more still, I say, they may be able totally
 “ to ruin the Commonwealth.

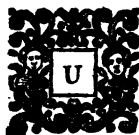
“ Therefore I hope you will agree with me,
 “ that it is absolutely necessary to support these
 “ Gentlemen, otherwise they must fall a Prey to
 “ their Enemies.

I know it will be counted ridiculous to suppose
 that any Man would speak in such a Manner, let
 his Attachment to the Ministers be upon never such
 scandalous Terms.—— This, perhaps, I shall
 grant, but, at the same Time, I will venture to
 assert, that, when the Measures taken in any Coun-
 try have been such as are *allow'd by all Parties* to be
 destructive of the Prosperity of the Commonwealth,
 nothing can be said in Defence of those that have
 advised them, but what (being stripp'd of the Sophis-
 try and false Gloss which is generally put upon a
 bad Cause) will amount to the same Thing with
 this Speech.



SATURDAY, *March* 28, 1730.

The following Paper falling into our Hands by Accident, we think will be no improper Entertainment for the Publick.



PON the 18th of *March* was publish'd in the *Daily Journal*, the Extract of a Letter from *Versailles* ; the Design of which was to destroy the Proofs the Publick had received concerning the repairing and opening the Port and Harbour of *Dunkirk*. — Whether this Letter was written by Monsieur *Ricaout*, Intendant of the *Marine* at *Dunkirk*, I won't take upon me to determine, but, if so, he acted like a true *Frenchman*, whose Business it is to amuse the People of *England*, 'till the *Dunkirkers* shall have finish'd their whole Plan.

Nay, Monsieur *Ricaout's* Civility to Colonel *A* — there hinted at, has this remarkable Circumstance attending it, that he made him the Compliment of his Coach, and waited on him himself, but whether to shew him the Works, or to hinder him from seeing them, I find, is a Point disputed both on this Side the Water and the other. — He likewise did him the Honour of clapping Centries at his Door, but in what Sense the Colonel took this, let the Colonel declare in his next Report.

The Occasion of taking Notice of this silly Letter at present, is, that another Piece has been handed about,

about, within these few Days, under the Title of, *The joint and separate Account, or Narrative of George C—— and Robert J——, Mariners, relating to what pass'd at their several Meetings with others, about the Affairs of Dunkirk*, which seems to be written with the same Spirit and Design, and which, by the strong Resemblance betwixt them, one would think, must be a Child of the same Parent.

The *Frenchman* says in his Letter, — that these Reports cou'd be suggested and spread abroad only by Men of turbulent Spirits, who have endeavour'd to insinuate the same, with a View of disturbing the good Harmony which now subsists between the two Crowns. — The Narrative has the same Thing with a little Alteration of Phrase, for there *George C——* and his Friend *Robin* say, that they understood from the Conversation in general, which they had in their Meetings, that the Complaint and Noise about *Dunkirk* was made with an Intent to break the Peace, &c.

From this and several other Passages it will appear, that if they are not the Work of the same Hand, they are, at least, done by Persons in the same Interest, and such as are no Enemies to what has been doing at *Dunkirk*.

The Narrative tells us, that this Report was not only made with Intent to break the Peace, but to overturn Sir R—— W——, and cast a Shur upon the present Measures; — but, must not the Folly of these Men be as great as their Wickedness, to attempt to overturn two such great Men as Sir R—— W—— and his Brother, by a Couple of such Instruments as C—— and Y——? yet so the Narrative would make us believe; nay, they were all to be made Great Men, and, at one of the Meetings, a certain Gentleman told them that, *if they succeeded in the Affair about Dunkirk, there would be Vacancies for every Body that had given their Attendance*

dance when that Occasion. I suppose G—— was to be made Chancellor of the Exchequer, and F—— Ambassador and Plenipotentiary; — whereas, I dare answer for it, that the Gentlemen who took their Examination, did not think either of them worthy to be made a *Collector* of the *Port of London*, tho' they had been prov'd to be *Smugglers*, as a certain Gentleman asserted them to be.

But who engaged them to go and make their Affidavits before that learned and eloquent Magistrate and Chairman, Sir F—— G——, and who has been at the Expence of printing, publishing, and dispersing from the Post-Office, this Affidavit so *ministerially* pen'd, I confess, is more than I can guess.

I conceive it cannot be the worthy Magistrate before named, who at his own Charge so frequently refreshes the Publick with his eloquent Orations, in some of which a particular Charge is given against the heinous Sin of Perjury, for, I am sorry to say it, the chief Point aim'd to be prov'd by this Affidavit, happens to be unluckily false.

Some hold that Politicians may *lye*, provided Matters are so well laid that they cannot be detected in their Lies; but here our Affidavit-Men and their Instructors committed an unhappy Mistake; for the Lord B—— is sworn to have been present at one of their Meetings, and R—— F—— (but this Bob was always a Lyar) says he knew him, for he saw him when he came from *France*, rode by his Coach-Side, betwixt *Dover* and *Sittingbourn*, saw him likewise at Dinner at *Sittingbourn*, and had seen him at several other Times. — I say, before they ventur'd so deep, they should have enquir'd whether the said Lord was within the Bills of Mortality at the Time sworn, that there might at least have been a Possibility of its being true; but see the ill Success of Blundering; for it appears that the
said

said Lord was several Miles out of Town, at the House of another noble Lord, who is ready to swear it himself even to the Face of a certain GREAT MAN, who is in such high Reputation for his Veracity and Intelligence that he is forc'd to have Recourse to the supplemental Evidence of C—— and Y—— (worthy Supporters) to gain a little Belief; even with his own Party.

But, no doubt, this was look'd upon as a fine Stroke in Politicks, for sure no good Protestant who believ'd this Lord to be present at these Meetings, wou'd believe the Harbour of *Dunkirk* to be repair'd in such a Manner as to be able to receive an hundred and fifty Ships, some of three, four, and even five hundred Tons; — or that the Keys were all repair'd, and one built entirely new; and carried from the Town, to near *Chasseau Galliard*; — that a strong Wall is made from the *Juttee-Head*, on the West Side of the Chanel, to the Risbank, and continued almost to the old Citadel; — that the Sluice had been open'd, and the Water let out almost every Tide, to clear the Harbour of Mud, &c. — that at Spring Tides there is from eighteen to twenty Foot Water in the said Harbour, and between the Beacons, at the Mouth of the Chanel, no less than from twenty to twenty two Foot; — that several Beacons are erected, on both Sides the Chanel, up to the Town, and that Soldiers as well as others were daily at work, in clearing and repairing the Harbour, with Stones taken from the Demolition, and others brought as far as from *Bologna*; that several new Ships have been launch'd in the Harbour, particularly one in *January* last, of ninety-five Foot on the Keel, with Ports for thirty-six Guns; — that there are others upon the Stocks ready to be launch'd; — that Ships are obliged to take their Ballast up out of the Harbour, in order to render it deeper; — that the Waters of

Mardyke,

Mardyke, Boubourg, Bergues, Moer and Furnes, may in a short Time be brought through the old Harbour and Bafon, to improve the said Port, beyond what it was even in the late War.

I say, who would believe all this, tho' it had been prov'd by the concurrent Testimonies of a Dozen Witnesses, and known by several Members of the House of Commons; and even made stronger by the Evidence of the Government's Papers too;—for this Lord's Presence at these Meetings (like the Bishop's Toe in the Milk, according to the Notions of the Vulgar) would have turn'd it all into Error and Falshood.——Well! the Lord's not being present was a little unfortunate, but the Meeting however was in *Durham-Yard*, which is some good Luck, and that Circumstance alone, it is to be hoped, will, in the Opinion of some Persons, sink the Water in the Harbour of *Dunkirk* at least two Foot, and make the Ship which T—— said drew eleven Foot abaft, to draw no more than eight.

And here I cannot forbear making a Wish, that the worshipful Sir F—— G—— would have been so good to have taken the Affidavit of some Person who had been an Eye-Witness of what Monsieur *Blandinier* has done, and that the like Methods were used to acquaint the Publick, that the Order obtained from the Court of *France* (being the Fruit of this Enquiry) was already begun to be put in Execution.

This is a little Digression; I must return to my Narrative.—— It is there alledg'd, that the People who made the Discoveries, had some Rewards promis'd them, and that one of the Gentlemen at the Meeting drew an Order upon the Treasurer of the Troops at *Calais*, to pay an hundred Livres to *Benjamin Hayes*, for his Expences over.—— I am inclin'd to question much the Correspondence betwixt the Gentleman named, and the Treasurer of

the King's Troops; but no doubt a *Frenchman* would very willingly advance Money, to send over a Man who was coming on Purpose to discover to an *English* Parliament, the Repairs that were made at *Dunkirk*, because the Enquiry was manifestly intended for the Interest of *France*, and not of *Great Britain*.——As to the Promises said to be made in Favour of *Busbel*, it is to be hoped that this *true Affidavit* of C—— and J—— will do their Friend *Busbel* more Service than their Evidence in the House of Commons, with those that have it in their Power to bring him over, without the Danger of his being thrown into Goal.

As I have taken Notice of those Parts of the Affidavit which are a little defective in Points of Truth, it is but just to observe upon those where the Facts are not to be contested.

I make no doubt then, but they met at the *Sun Tavern* behind the *Royal Exchange* on *Sunday* the 7th of *February*, — that they dined in a large Room, — that the Wine they drank was *Port*; nor will I dispute but there might be a *Screen* before the Door, which I think is a large Concession, for there are those who perhaps will maintain, That where there is a *Screen* there must be some Roguery; because of the great Noise which was made some Years ago about a *certain Screen*; but this I shall leave to the Conscience of that Great Man who is best acquainted with the Use and Advantage of a *Screen*. — But to go on; I believe it will not be denied but that a certain Gentleman went often in and out of the Room, but whether to *draw* Water, or to order the Waiters to *draw* Wine, I confess is not clearly made out, and I am sorry that the Affidavit did not set forth whether or no there was a Chamber-Pot in the Room, because it would have serv'd to have clear'd up that Matter, which I take to be a
Cir-

Circumstance of as great Importance to the Affair of *Dunkirk* as any thing in the whole Affidavit.

There are several other Facts in this Affidavit which I take to be undeniable, as that they dined at the *Swan Tavern* in *Thames-Street*, — that they were carried into a Parlour at Mr. *B——*'s House in *Durban-Yard*; that Sir *W—— W——*, the two Mr. *P——*, and a tall young Gentleman they did not know, and Mr. *B——* were there, but no Body else — that they dined that Day at the *Cross-Keys* near *Covent-Garden*; nay, that they sent Porters to their Wives to let them know that they should not come home that Night — that they lay at the *Star-Inn* in the Strand — that they went in Coaches the next Day to the *Ordnance Coffee-house*, *Old Palace-Yard* — that after their Examination they dined at the *Swan Tavern*, *Westminster*, and which is more, I even believe that Mr. *E——* paid the Reckoning — then let the Friends of a certain Person in Power triumph, for who is it that believes all this, will believe that *Dunkirk* is repair'd!

But these Circumstances were before made known by a certain Person in a high Station, in a certain Place, who in these Particulars has supported the Evidence of *C——* and *F——* much better than they have done his, in Respect to the Lord's being present at the Meetings. —

This Gentleman is the *Argus* of the State, nothing can escape his penetrating Sight, for scarce a single Patriot, much less a Number of them, can dine beyond *Fleet-ditch*, but he will tell you whether their Dinner was Foul or Mutton, their Wine French or Port, — How happy is this Nation in a Genius which always busies itself in such sublime Discoveries, and how pleas'd ought the People to be to see the Money allow'd for Secret Service laid out in procuring Intelligence so essential to the publick Safety! and sure this Money is better laid out

than the like Sum would have been in detecting the several indirect Practices in Trade betwixt *Dunkirk* and *Ireland*, and other Places; which *Busbel* and *C.* both offer'd to do to this Man of Vigilance, who then gave them a deaf Ear, tho' he is pleas'd to listen to them now.

But to speak a little more seriously upon this Matter——If *Dunkirk* be a National Concern, if the repairing and opening its Harbour must prove a Thing of pernicious Consequence to *Great Britain*, was the bringing this Enquiry upon the *Tapis* the Duty of a Man of Honour or no? If the Gentlemen who stirr'd in it endeavour'd to find out the most authentick Proofs, by enquiring of those who trade all the Year to the very Place, and must know the Truth; if they promis'd to indemnify them from any Loss or Damage they should sustain by making this Discovery, or even if they had given them Money to satisfy them for their Loss of Time; if they kept their Proceedings about it secret, till it should be moved in a proper Place, since this Affidavit evinces the Necessity there was of doing so, is there any thing in all this of which they have the least Cause to be ashamed?

Do they pretend to alledge that they were-desir'd to give Evidence of any thing they did not know of their own Knowledge, or can any of them say that any Words were put into their Mouths?

There was nothing which was ever had more at Heart than the Destruction of the Port and Harbour of *Dunkirk*, and few things which we either apprehended more, or had more reason to apprehend, than the Reparation, and Restoration of the same.——When it appear'd therefore, by incontestible Proof, that this Port and Harbour had been long repairing, and were almost restored to their former Perfection, and this at a Time when our——valued themselves upon the Fidelity of *France* to them, and upon

upon their mighty Influence there, one would have thought that they might have been very well satisfied with evading a direct Question upon their Conduct, and getting out of this Difficulty with Impunity ; but one could have hardly expected what we see happen, that instead of endeavouring to have this whole Matter forgot as soon as possible, they shou'd daily refresh the Minds of Men about it, and renew the Talk of it, as if it tended to their Honour ——— that instead of excusing themselves for having suffer'd *Dunkirk* to be restor'd, they should venture to accuse others for having proved this Neglect, or even Connivance upon them, as if they modestly imagined that a Measure necessary for asserting the Honour and Interest of the Nation on so essential a Point, and which has already so good an Effect, cou'd be render'd unpopular, because C ——— and J ——— imagined it might be intended to overturn Sir R. W. and cast a Slur upon his Measures, ——— a fine Comparison to hope to raise a Spirit upon, between the National Interest about *Dunkirk*, and the Preservation of Sir R. W.'s Power.





SATURDAY, April 4, 1730.



HAVING read a Pamphlet the other Day, entitled, *Remarks upon the Proceedings of the French Court*, I think it will be neither impertinent nor unseasonable to make a few Extracts from it, by which it will appear that where Enlargement of Dominion becomes the Policy of any Nation, such Nation will be a more dangerous Friend than it can be an Enemy.

The Writer I have now before me takes Notice of the famous Treaty of the *Pyrenees*, made betwixt *France* and *Spain*, which was cemented by the strongest and most sacred Tie that could be thought of, to make a perfect Union, no less than the Marriage of the King of *France*, *Louis the thirteenth*, with the *Infanta* of *Spain* — but let us see how faithfully it was kept.

This Treaty was grounded upon two Preliminaries, and the *Spaniards* declared before-hand that unless those two were granted by *France* they would not consent to proceed in the said Treaty. — These were,

“ That the *Infanta*, upon her Marriage, should
 “ make a Renunciation (confirm’d and ratify’d by
 “ the King of *France*, her Husband) of all her
 “ Pretences, Titles and Claims whatsoever to the
 “ *Spanish* Monarchy, the Reasons being set down
 “ in the Draught of the said Treaty; lest the Glory
 “ of the respective Kingdoms should happen to
 “ decay and be diminish’d, if through the said
 “ Mar-

“ Marriage they should come to be united and con-
 “ joined under one Head, which might occasion
 “ great Troubles and Afflictions to the Subject.

The Second was “ That *France* should forsake
 “ their Adherence to *Portugal*.

It will not be to our present Purpose to dwell
 much upon the first of these Articles; ———
 but as to the second Article, which relates to
Portugal, we shall find the *Spaniards* had Reason
 enough to complain. Which Article runs in these
 Words.

“ His said Majesty of *France* will intermeddle
 “ no farther in the said Business, and doth promise
 “ and oblige himself upon his Honour, and upon
 “ his Faith, and Word of a King, both for him-
 “ self, and his Successors, not to give to any Person
 “ or Persons, of what Dignity, Estate or Condi-
 “ tion whatsoever, either at present, or for the
 “ future, any Help or Assistance, either publick or
 “ private, directly or indirectly, of Men, Arms,
 “ Munition, Victualling, Vessels, or Money, un-
 “ der any Pretence, or any other Thing whatso-
 “ ever, by Land, or by Sea, or in any other Man-
 “ ner. ——— As likewise not to suffer any Levies
 “ to be made in any Part of his Kingdom, or Do-
 “ minions, or to grant a Passage to any that might
 “ come from other Countries to the Relief of the
 “ said Kingdom of *Portugal*.

Nor can any imagine (says this Author) more
 cautious and efficacious Words in a Treaty, to pre-
 vent a further Assistance from *France* to *Portugal*,
 which was the main Thing the *Spaniards* fought for
 by the Marriage; yet as soon as the Treaty was
 pen'd, and before the Instrument was sign'd, the
 most eminent Cardinal *Mazarine* sent privately the
 Marquis of *Cbenes* into *Portugal*, to assure the *Portu-
 guese*, that notwithstanding he could not avoid put-
 ting such Words into the Treaty, in order to the
 Con-

Conclusion of it, as did engage *France* not to assist them ; however they might rest assured his Master would never forsake them, but would continue them his Assistance as much as before the Treaty was made.

Thus did they fail in every Point and Circumstance of this Article, by tampering privately with the *Portuguese* and giving them underhand Assurances, at the Time the Treaty was carrying on ; and at the Conclusion of it, before the Bonfires that were made for Joy of the Peace were quite extinguished, an evident and open Breach of the said Article was discovered, by the *French* sending Auxiliary Forces into *Portugal*, under the Name of the *Marschal Turenne* : A Body of Troops, I say, were raised, and convey'd into *Portugal*, with Arms and Ammunition, as if *Marschal Turenne*, a Subject, durst have done such a Thing without the Authority and Consent of the King and his Ministers ; and when the *Spaniards*, by their Ambassador in *Paris*, made a Complaint of this Matter at Court, they deluded him, by issuing forth publick Orders to the Governours of their Sea Port Towns, that no Soldiers, Arms, Ammunition, &c. should be suffer'd to be embark'd for *Portugal*— But those Governours understood their private Instructions well enough to let them pass by Connivance.

This is as palpable a Breach of a Treaty, as if the Fortifications of *Dunkirk* had been repair'd, and when Complaint should be made of it, it should be answer'd, that the Court was not privy to it, for it was done by the Inhabitants of the Town, the King's Subjects, without his Orders ; and when the King's Orders should come to the Governors and Commandants to see the Works demolish'd again, they should receive them with great Shew of Obedience, yet connive at the finishing the said Works. — But we are not to be treated in this Man-

Manner, while we have such Ministers at the Head of our Affairs.

But to return to the Affair of *Portugal*; when the *French* found that their Behaviour in respect to *Portugal*, could not be kept a Secret, they acted openly in it; and notwithstanding the Treaty with *Spain*, they entered into an offensive and defensive League with *Portugal*, against all its Enemies whatsoever; in which the *French* took such Care to provide for themselves, that by Agreement they were to have all the Towns deliver'd into their Hands which should be taken from the *Spaniards*.

The Truth of these Things was not only manifested in Fact, but it was also testified by Letters which the Ministers of *Spain* had intercepted; that after the Peace made between the two Crowns, the Court of *France* had fomented the War of the *Portuguese*; hinder'd them from accepting those advantageous Conditions which *Spain* had offer'd them; animating them by the Hope of mighty Succours, not only for their Defence, but also for carrying on an offensive War into the very Heart of *Spain*.— Among these Letters were many of such as had been written by the *French* Minister Monsieur *De Lyonne*, and the Archbishop of *Ambrun*, to Monsieur *De Schonberg*, which proved the continual Correspondence that was betwixt them for the Direction and carrying on that War. — It is known, that in the Year 1672, the Duke of *Beaufort* came with his whole Fleet upon the Coasts of *Portugal*, where he spent a Part of the Summer, to secure a Passage of Provision and Ammunition, whereof the *Portuguese* were in extreme Want; and this at the same Time when they were offering *Spain* their Mediation to make an Accommodation with *Portugal*. — Not to omit how one of the prime *French* Ministers, Monsieur *Colbert*, privately made several Voyages thither, to encourage them, and contract a more strict

strict Alliance with them, and to open the Way for bringing about a League offensive, which some time after was concluded with the *Portuguese*.

At another Time, while *France* was in Peace with *Spain*, they spirited up a Rebellion in *Sicily*, and sent the Duke of *Guise* with an Army to assist the Rebels.

France enter'd into a Treaty with *Sweden*, and agreed to pay the *Suedes* the Sum of sixteen hundred thousand Crowns, but finding that Alliance not to be so beneficial as they expected, the *French*, by their Ambassador, Monsieur *Trelon*, declar'd the Treaty to be void.

When the House of *Austria* look'd too big for its Neighbours, some of the Princes of *Germany* were glad to accept of the Succours of *France*, who under Pretence of assisting them, seem'd willing to share their Principalities; and while she was in Alliance with some of those Princes, she was endeavouring to weaken them; witness her Behaviour to the Duke of *Newbourg*, whom she put upon attempting to be elected King of *Poland*, and having drawn him into an immense Charge by that Means, then oppos'd him in the Election.

The Policy of this Proceeding consisted in reducing the Power of the *German* Princes, who would certainly join themselves to the Empire, as soon as they returned to their Senses, and being thus weaken'd beforehand, would be the less able to oppose the Designs of *France*.

In the *Dutch* War, in the Reign of King *Charles* the Second, *France* offer'd their Succour to *England*, and sent a Squadron to join the Fleet of *England*, and when we enter'd into an Engagement with the *Dutch*, their Squadron stood off, though in Sight all the while, and hinder'd us from gaining a complete Victory. ——— And it may be presumed that their

their Admiral had Orders for doing so, for he never was called to an Account for it.

By their Intrigues they drew the King of *Denmark* off from our Alliance, while they were seemingly engaged in our Measures.

They did the same Thing with respect to the Bishop of *Munster* — wisely apprehending that we might grow too great for our Neighbours by Sea, if we had great Success against the *Dutch*.

How often has *France* meditated Designs against her Neighbours in the midst of Friendship; and what Advantages she has made of her *Allies*, is more than we are able to set forth — But certainly if at any Time Statesmen enter into Alliances shocking and unnatural to the Interest of their Country, the *French* Ministers cannot be blamed for making Advantages of such Folly or Knavery.

There have been Statesmen who have made Use of ministerial Letters, and other little low Artifices, to no Purpose but to distract the Affairs with which they were trusted; but this cannot be urged against the *French* Ministers, and whatever they may be accused of in respect to Justice, I think that *Blundering* and *Ignorance* has seldom been laid to their Charge.

Nor do I think it shou'd be reproach'd as a Crime upon a *Frenchman*, when his Country is entering into Treaties and Alliances with other Powers, that he makes Use of all his Skill and Address to draw them into Terms, which must give his Country the Advantage over them; for this is certainly the Duty of every Man of Honour, who has such a Trust reposed in him. — For a Fellow who is but *Half Knowing*, and not *Half Honest*, in every Publick Transaction only enquires how far it will affect his own private Interest. — If this Point be gain'd, or that given up, which will bring most Grift to the Mill; which add the greatest Advantages

tages to his Family ; which contribute most to his new Establishment in Power, and by that he is determined. — But it is impossible that a Nation so served should ever gain Advantages by Treaties or Alliances with other States.

France has seldom gain'd any Advantages over us by open War, and I wish she may never be able to do it by Alliances : But now I am upon this Subject, I cannot forbear concluding with a few Lines of our Poet *Shakeſpear*, tho' they may bear no Allusion to the present Times.

O England! *model to thy inward Greatneſs.*

(*Like little Body with a mighty Heart*)

What mightest thou do, that Honour wou'd thee do,

Were all thy Children kind and natural!

But ſee thy Fault—France hath in thee found out

A NEST OF HOLLOW BOSOMS.





SATURDAY, April 18, 1730.

PASQUIN to FOG sends Greeting.

* *Molto caro Signor mio FOGGIO,*



Make no Doubt but you have heard long before now of the Death of our Holy Father *Benedict* the thirteenth, as well as of the strange Turn of Fortune which has happened to his first Minister, Cardinal *Coscia*, which indeed was no more than what every Body long expected wou'd be the certain Consequence of the Death of this our Sovereign Pontif; — but, it seems, let Ministers have never so many Examples before their Eyes, that incurring the Hatred of the People, by an arbitrary and rapacious Administration, must end in Destruction at last, they will take no Warning. — But, *Quem Jupiter vult perdere, dementat prius.* — *When the Gods destine the Destruction of a Man, they first take away his Understanding.*

As for me, you may well imagine that, having always employ'd my Talents against bad Ministers, and even against the Mistakes of such as were neither *Knaves* or *Dunces*, I could not spare this eternal *Plunderer*; no, my Friend, I pointed my severest Satire at him and his *wretched Tools*; I painted them in the most ridiculous Colours, and all *Rome* applauded my *Honesty* more than my *Wit*, for doing

* Which is as much as to say, Dear Fog; but Fog sounding better in Italian, we chose to let it stand so.

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so;

so; but the Faction were not a little provoked; yes, *the gall'd Horse will wince*; they clamoured loud against me as an Incendiary and a most licentious Wit, for calumniating so great a Man, at the Time his Country was reaping the † *Fruits of his great Integrity and extraordinary Abilities*. — This was the Cant, — a more severe Satire than ever I had thrown out against him, and I had the Pleasure of finding it understood in that Sense by all Rome; however, their Malice was so enflamed against me, that, I can tell you, your Friend *Passarin* would have been in no small Danger of losing his Ears, if he had had any.

But who could contain himself, I say, who could stand by to see Folly and Knavery triumph in the Ruin of States and the Destruction of Mankind, and yet be silent? What Kind of Indignation must it not raise in the Breast of a *Roman*, to consider that this State should remain unhurt against the Attempts of the *Venetians*, *Florentines*, and the other States which surround it, and be brought into this contemptible Situation, by its worse Enemies, the *Cosians*, a mean, low, despicable Race of Men; the Head of them all, the *Cardinal* himself, the other Day, poor and oppress'd with Debts, of a broken Fortune, and most *rotten Reputation*.

But, you will ask me, perhaps, how should this come to pass. — Has not *Rome*, at all Times, been famous for Men of Sense, and particularly for great Politicians? To which I answer, that we have had no Reason to complain of Providence that Way, and that even at this Time our Climate produces Men of as good Understandings as ever, nay, *Coscia* found some such in our Affairs at the Time he first

† *A Cant much used in another Country, while every Thing was going to Wreck.*

step'd into that great Power, but he took Care to get rid of them as fast as he cou'd. He dealt by them as Gamesters who play at *Ombre* do by some of the high Cards; tho' they make up Part of the Pack, yet as soon as ever the Game begins they are thrown out as useless. — Thus, I say, did *Coscia* behave towards every Thing which he so much as suspected to have a Genius for Affairs; he might find some of them in the Pack, but when he entred upon Business as a Minister, when he began his Game, (his Tricks I should have said) he discarded them every Man.

You must know that *Coscia* was one of those profound Statesmen who know nothing at all of State Affairs, so that he thought it his Interest to bring none into Business but such as shou'd be more ignorant than himself, which, by the by, was no easy Matter for him to find. — You must have observed, in Men of *low Genius* and *little Parts*, a mean, selfish Cunning, which instructs them to center every Thing in their own private Interest. — This was the true Character of *Coscia*. — While he employ'd such Men, he fancy'd if any thing went well the Reputation of it would be all his own, if ill, the Disgrace would naturally fall upon his Tools; besides, he was rid of the Apprehensions that any of these might have Art enough to undermine him in his Power, (the Thing in the World he dreaded most) and indeed a Man may count upon it that his Creatures will stand by him right or wrong, when they happen to be such Persons as no other Minister in the World would employ.

But *Coscia* had the good Fortune to find Persons of this Character in his own Family, of his own Flesh and Blood, almost sufficient to fill half the great Employments of the Government, that is to say, as he managed it, for he heaped Offices upon them, two or three to every one, and indeed most

of these Gentlemen, (in the opinion of the World) were as well qualified to discharge Twenty as One. — In short, the Question was not, whether *Rome* wanted a Man of Address to execute some important Commissions in a foreign Court, or a Person of Honour and Skill to discharge some Office at Home, but a *Coscia* must be provided for and made great at our Expence, so that I have often thought, nay and said it too, that *Rome*, in *Coscia's* Time, stood betwixt Knave and Fool, like some poor *Patient* betwixt Doctor and Apothecary; tho' they neither knew her Disease, nor how to apply a Cure, they knew very well how to keep her in their Hands, and fleece her of her Money.

In the Conduct of all Affairs he was govern'd by one and the same Rule, for he was of Opinion that a Nation once rich could never be poor, and that the Wealth of the People ought to be employ'd in rectifying and making good the Blunders and Mistakes of their Ministers and Servants; and if he had continued a little longer in Business, I expected to have seen new Taxes rais'd, and a *Fund* established for that Purpose, under the Name and Title of the BLUNDERING FUND, which, let me tell you, would have required very large Sums for its constant Support, considering what an Itch the *Coscians* were seiz'd with for Treaty and Negotiation.

Thus *Coscia* went on doing all Business, whether War or Peace, or Alliances with the neighbouring States, only by the Argument of Money; he was like the Quack Doctor that had but one Medicine to cure all Diseases. — *Take these Pills*; — If one Box won't do, take two; — so, if a neighbouring State would not make an Alliance with us for one Million of Crowns, we must give them two Millions; and this was the *Ne plus ultra* of his Politicks. — Perhaps he might have heard of that Saying of *Philip* of *Macedon*, that no Place was impregnable *where*

An Ass might enter laden with Gold, and, if Towns were to be taken by this Method, he might fancy all other Affairs were to be managed the same Way.

Whether he took the Hint from that Saying, I won't determine, but I remember, when we had some Affairs to manage with a certain Court, the most *fine* and *artful* of any in Europe, who should he make Choice of to represent us but *Porcaino Coscia*, the nearest Relation he has in the World?—a most grotesque Figure,—an *Animal a faire vive*,—and to make Amends, not so much Brains as one of the Geese that of old saved the Capitol—Yes, my Friend, the *Ass* was sent out laden with Gold, but what did Rome get by all this? only to be duped in two or three Points very essential to her Interest.—We found ourselves every Day growing poorer and poorer, we perceiv'd we had lost our Money, while all the rest of the World was of Opinion we had likewise lost our Wits.

But *Porcaino* returns with as much Triumph in that handsome Face of his as if he had gain'd us a Town or a Province by his Negotiations, when a Discovery happened to break out, that our good Friends and Allies had stole a March upon us, and surpriz'd us in a very important Affair, contrary to the Faith of Treaties, at the very Time that *Porcaino* resided amongst them under the Notion of *watching our Interests*;—Methinks I have his Face in my Eye, just as he looked upon that Occasion; he stared, *wip'd his snotty Nose*, and seem'd to know nothing at all of the Matter; perhaps you will think he was out of Countenance at the Discovery of such a scandalous Negligence; not a Bit; he is happy in the Family Face, a Face that never changed its Colour.—He put it off by boasting how agreeable he made himself to the politest People in the World, of which he could produce no Instance but that he

made them *laugh at him*, and indeed we found, to our Cost, that they had some other Causes for Laughter besides his Awkwardness and Absurdity, if it be true THAT THEY WILL LAUGH THAT WIN.

In fine, scarce a Day pass'd but we found ourselves entangled in new Difficulties, occasion'd by the ignorant Measures of the *Coscians*, so that it came to that at last, that a *Blunderer* and a *Coscian* were understood by this People as synonymous Terms.—— As for my Part, you need not doubt but I had my Jest upon them as well as some other Persons, and it was pleasant enough to hear what wise Reflections some of their Sycophants made upon us —— *We clamoured against the Coscians only because we wanted their Employments*, — and about two or three Years ago, when there was an Opportunity of easing the People of the *Soap Tax*, there being Money sufficient for paying off the Debt, and it was hinder'd by *Coscia*, I made a Satire upon him upon that Occasion; the Flatterers cried out against me as a poor *Scrub* that only spoke for my own Sake. Silly Rogues! as if the Soap Tax could affect me who never wore a Shirt in my Life; —— however, the very Day after *Coscia* made his Escape, I put on a clean Shirt for the Joke's Sake, and *Marforio* asking me why I appear'd so fine, I answer'd *Coscia* was fled, and *Pasquin* might now afford to pay his Laundress, and you must know the Tax was remitted in two or three Days after.

In short, all the Spleen of these Sycophants was not able to beat me out of Truth; —— I still call'd every Thing by its proper Name; a Spade with me was always a Spade, and *Coscia* a *blundering Knave*; nor could any thing be greater Sport than to observe the Behaviour of these cringing Rogues. Those who the Day before *Coscia's* Fall would not pronounce his Name without adding some Epithet of Respect, as that his *Excellentissimo* had given them

them leave to wait upon his *Illustrissimo*, were the first that changed their Note, and said that his *Furfantissimo* was run away, but they hoped his *Blunderissimo* would be taken and hang'd.

You cannot be ignorant that *Marforio* and myself have constantly been the Scourge of the Knaves and Fools of this City, and there is nothing which of late I have taken more Pleasure in, than in exposing the many Falshoods which *Coscia* gave out to cover his Blunders; I mawl'd him this Way so that the World expected that his ill Luck at *Lying* would have cur'd him of that Quality, but the World was mistaken; he was like a looting Gamster, that, at every unlucky Cast, doubles his Stakes, and so goes on till he is ruin'd at last.

It is certain he kept a Pack of Writers in Pay, to answer *Marforio*, me and others of the * *Penetrativi*, but they were the worst that could be found for Love or Money.——In carrying on this Argument, they would have compounded with us to have fix'd the Character of *Knaave* upon their Patron, if we would have stopp'd there, but we refused to treat with them upon those Terms, nor did we ever quit him till we had saddled him double, we clapp'd Fool upon his back as well as the other, so that he is entitled to wear the Ribbons of both Orders.——In fine, his Hirelings made no sort of Defence for him, they left us Masters of the Field, and to excuse a bad Cause, said it signified nothing to argue with a Couple of Fellows that were made of Stone, meaning *Marforio* and your humble Servant.

Let you and I, *Dear Foggy*, ridicule those solemn Blockheads who fancy that a Title or a great Office must supply the Place of Merit, and draw Respect

* Those in Italy who wrote Remarks upon political Affairs, are call'd Gli Penetrativi.

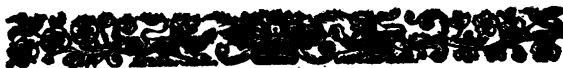
upon Ignorance and Knavery, and if we cannot mend those Animals, we shall, at least, have the Satisfaction of making the World laugh at them.

I am

Your facetious Friend

and merry humble Servant,

PASQUINO.



SATURDAY, May 9, 1730.



WE read that *Plato* the Philosopher thought fit to banish Musick from his Commonwealth; for (no doubt) it was his Opinion, that all those Things which render the Minds of Men effeminate, bring a Kind of Lethargy over the State itself, and threaten it with a lingering Ruin.

The modern *Italians* are the People who are most bewitch'd to this soft Amusement; they have with great Study cultivated and improved it, and they have given the Dignity of a Science to a Thing not design'd, either for the Improvement of the Manners, or the Instructions of the Minds of the People; but, while they were making it their Glory to be the first in an effeminate Art, the martial Spirit of their Ancestors departed from amongst them, and it is now some Ages that they have been looked upon as the most contemptible People in the World.

It

It is impossible for a Man without some Concern, to behold his Country running into the same Follies which have contributed to the Decay and Contempt that have fallen upon other Nations.

While I am talking seriously upon this Subject, I foresee that I may draw upon me the Censure of some little Criticks, who probably will think that a Man ought to be condemn'd to a *Straw Bed* and a *dark Room*, who should take it into his Head to entertain so wild a Notion as that an *Opera* could ruin a Kingdom.

I have nothing to say to such Gentlemen as have a Laugh always at Command, and can sneer at every thing above their shallow Comprehensions, nor am I about to carry the Thing to such an Extravagance; but I believe I may venture to maintain, that since the *Italian* Luxury and a Taste for *Italian* Pleasures has gain'd Ground amongst us, our martial Disposition is not much encreas'd, nor any other publick Virtue has gain'd Ground amongst us.

To how low a Condition of Sense must a Nation be reduced, when Men, considerable by their Fortunes, as well as Stations in their Country, shall suffer their Thoughts to be totally engaged about the Success of an *Opera*, or shall form into Parties, or break into violent Factions about the Merit of two Rival *Minstrels*, at the same Time that they are entirely tranquil about the most arduous Affairs of their Country, and never give themselves a Thought how it may be affected by Transactions of so much Importance, that their Posterity may feel the Consequences thereof, either in Happiness or Misery, for many Ages to come.

I cou'd name the Place and the Time where Men of Senatorial Order have thought it a sufficient Excuse for absenting themselves from that Duty to which they had been elected by their Country, because a Visit was expected from a *Fidler* or a *Singer*,
and

and some Affair which concerned the Liberty of the Subject has been neglected for the Sake of accompanying *Geminant* in a *Concerto*.

When the Hearts of Men are set upon Trifles, and Things design'd for little Amusements are pursued as Matters of the highest Importance, no Scorn or Ridicule can be too severe for such a Degree of Folly.

If a Foreigner of good Sense was to be a Witness of such a Scene, what low and contemptible Ideas would it raise in him of such a People, and how little would he think their Enemies wou'd have to fear either from their Councils or Actions.

It is written of *Themistocles* the *Athenian*, who was a famous General as well as a wise Statesman, that, being at a Banquet to which several young *Athenian* Noblemen were also invited, some of them, to shew their Parts, and to entertain the Company, sang Songs, and play'd with great Skill, upon Musical Instruments; at length one of them presented a Lute to *Themistocles*, desiring him to play upon it, but he returned the Instrument to this *Gracious Petite Maitre*, with this remarkable Saying,—That he cou'd not fiddle, tho' he could make a small Town a large City.

I make no doubt but *Themistocles*, by this Answer, intended to reproach these young Men for wasting their Youth, that precious Time, which should be employ'd in Studies and Exercises to render them useful to their Country, in an Art, to be excellent in which requir'd so strong an Application, and yet when it was gain'd was nothing but a Trifle.

I cannot forbear taking Notice of the Reflection which my Lord Chancellor *Bacon* makes upon this Saying of *Themistocles*, tho' it should draw me a little aside from my Subject.

• These

“ These Words, holpen with a little Metaphor (says this great Philosopher) “ may express two very different Abilities in those that deal in Business of Estate ; for if a true Survey be taken of the Counsellors and Ministers of Commonwealths and of Princes, there may be found those who can make a small State great, and yet cannot or will not *fiddle* ; and yet, on the other Side, there may be found a great many who can *fiddle very cunningly*, and yet are so far from being able to make a small State great, that their Gifts lie quite another Way, that is to say, to bring a great and flourishing Kingdom to Ruin and Decay ; and certainly those little degenerate Arts and Shifts, whereby many Governors and Counsellors of Princes have endeavour'd to gain Favour with their Masters, Estimation with some Faction, and by which they have attempted to blind and deceive the Common People, are only Things to amuse for a little Time, but of no Use to the State, as not tending to raise the Commonwealth, either in Power, Fortune, or Reputation.

According to this ingenious Observation, we find that the Business of *Fiddling* is not confin'd to the Professors of Musick, for it is certain there are *Fidlers* in all Arts, Sciences and Professions ; nay, no Station or Rank of Men has been without them ; there have been *Emperors, Kings, Popes, Cardinals, Bishops, Secretaries, Ambassadors, and Senators*, without Number, who have been Nothing but *more Fidlers*.

But perhaps it may be necessary for me to explain what I mean by a *Fidler*, for tho' I take the Word to be universally understood, both in its literal and metaphorical Meaning, yet, to prevent the Cavils of Criticks, it may not be amiss to put the Thing out of Doubt.

I there-

I therefore take it, that a *Fidler* is he who is always very busy, and yet never does any thing ; he makes a great Bustle about every Trifle, and *trifles* in the most important Affairs ; if such a Man be a Minister of State, and a Rumour of War reaches his Ears, he immediately falls a *Fidling*, that is, he puts Armies and Fleets in Motion, without giving himself a Thought for what Purpose or Design ; — if Peace be the Business in Hand, he *fiddles* again, that is, he runs about, to treat here, and negotiate there, without any thing in his Head but *Crotchets* ; — and indeed, in all Conditions and Circumstances of Life, the *Fidlers* are those, *qui magno Conatu Nugas agunt, aut Nihil agunt*, who do Nothing at all, with a great Shew of Business ; and tho' we shall often see Men of this silly Turn and Character affect great Names and Titles, and write themselves *Treasurers, Secretaries, Plenipotentiaries, and Ambassadors*, yet the whole World can see, at the same Time, *that they are but mere Fidlers*.

And this Definition agrees exactly with the Notion of the common People ; for whenever they observe a busy Fellow thrusting himself headlong into some Affairs of which he is totally ignorant, or doing Nothing with a great deal of *Fracas*, they very pertinently term such a Man, *a fiddling Fellow*.

And now, methinks, I can account for an odd Thing which I once read in an old Play, before the first Scene of which was written, Enter a *King with two Fidlers*, — I make no Doubt but a modern Author who was ignorant of the Proprieties, would have said, Enter a *King with two of his Ministers*, which in my poor Opinion would have been a great Absurdity, and which one of the Antients would not have been guilty of ; for, if these Persons were more like *Fidlers* than Statesmen, that was not a Fault of the Poet's, and he shew'd his Judgment in keeping to the Truth of the Terms.

Nor

Nor can I forbear thinking that the Hints here given may teach us to correct several Errors which have crept into History, either thro' the Negligence of the Historians, who have not been well inform'd of the Characters of the Persons of whom they wrote, or thro' their Ignorance of the Terms; and therefore in some particular Places in our *English* History, which have been transmitted down to us in no very advantageous Light, where we read that such or such an Affair was brought, or argued before the King and his Council, I humbly conceive it should be corrected thus, That such or such a Thing was argued before *the King and his Fiddlers*; and so where we read, that such an Edict or an Arrest was issued out by the King and Council, it would be a more proper Reading, that such an Edict or an Arrest was issued out by the *King and his Fiddlers in Council*, and so of other Things,——but I shall act in this as in other Points, that is, I shall submit to the Opinions of more able Critics.

If the Authority of the Poets could have any Weight in a Criticism upon History, I could support my Opinion with some Examples; I remember to have seen a Play in *France*, where the Poet has introduc'd the Scene of a King sitting in Council, his Majesty is seated under a Canopy, his Counsellors rang'd of each Side, a *Fiddle* lying upon the Council Board. — When they begin to enter upon Business, one of these wise Counsellors takes up the Instrument and begins to *fiddle*, upon which his Brethren all look wise, and beat Time; but the King himself, not perfectly pleas'd with this Overture, rises up, and in the Stile of a Monarch says,
Give Us the Fiddle, We Ourselves will play.

Here the Poet meant to shew in what a trifling Manner the Business of Nations has been sometimes carried on, and what a Pack of *fiddling Fellows* have often presid'd in the very Councils of Kings.

But to return from whence we digress'd. — The Man who would criticise History must have a great Regard to the Times and Countries whose History he is reading, otherwise he will commit greater Errors, than he attempts to reform; for Example, if the *Roman* History falls under his Examination, he will find that the Persons employ'd in the Service of the Commonwealth must be stiled, *Dictators, Consuls, Prators, Ediles, Tribunes, Censors*, and the like, because he will be convinced, upon examining their Actions, that there was not one *Fidler* amongst them, at least, for the first four or five Ages of the Commonwealth. — Indeed after their Change of Government, when their Liberties were lost, the Case was quite otherwise, for *Nero* himself was but a *Fidler*, and so were all the Members of his Right Honourable and right-blundering Privy Council (*Seneca* excepted.)

In like Manner, if our Critick should inspect the *English* History, he will certainly be of Opinion, that the great Officers of the State in the Reigns of *Harry IV. Harry V. Harry VII. Queen Elizabeth*, and some others, cannot with any Propriety of Speech be term'd *Fidlers*; but in some other Reigns he will find it quite otherwise; however, he must govern himself in this material Point by the Actions which he sees recorded of them in History, which will teach him to avoid all Mistakes: — But there is one Thing I would warn him of, and that is, if such an Author should chance to flourish in some future Period, when there should not be such able Ministers at the Helm as we now are blest'd with, that he do not presume to meddle with the History of his own Times, lest by Prejudice or Partiality he should be misled to assign wrong Names to Persons and Things, and term some Men Ministers of State, who, in effect, shall be *no more than most wretched Fidlers*.

The End of the First Volume.



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